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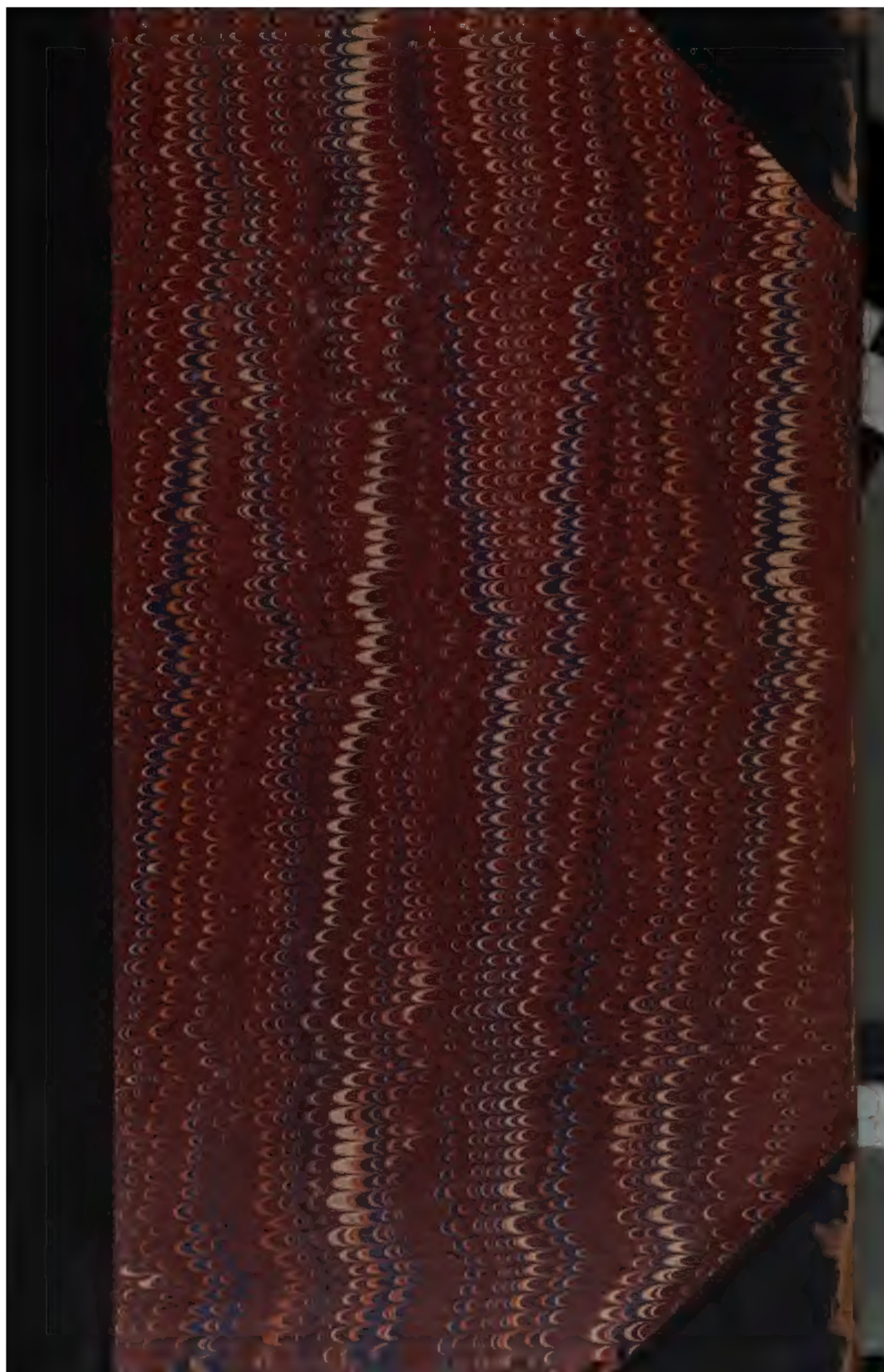
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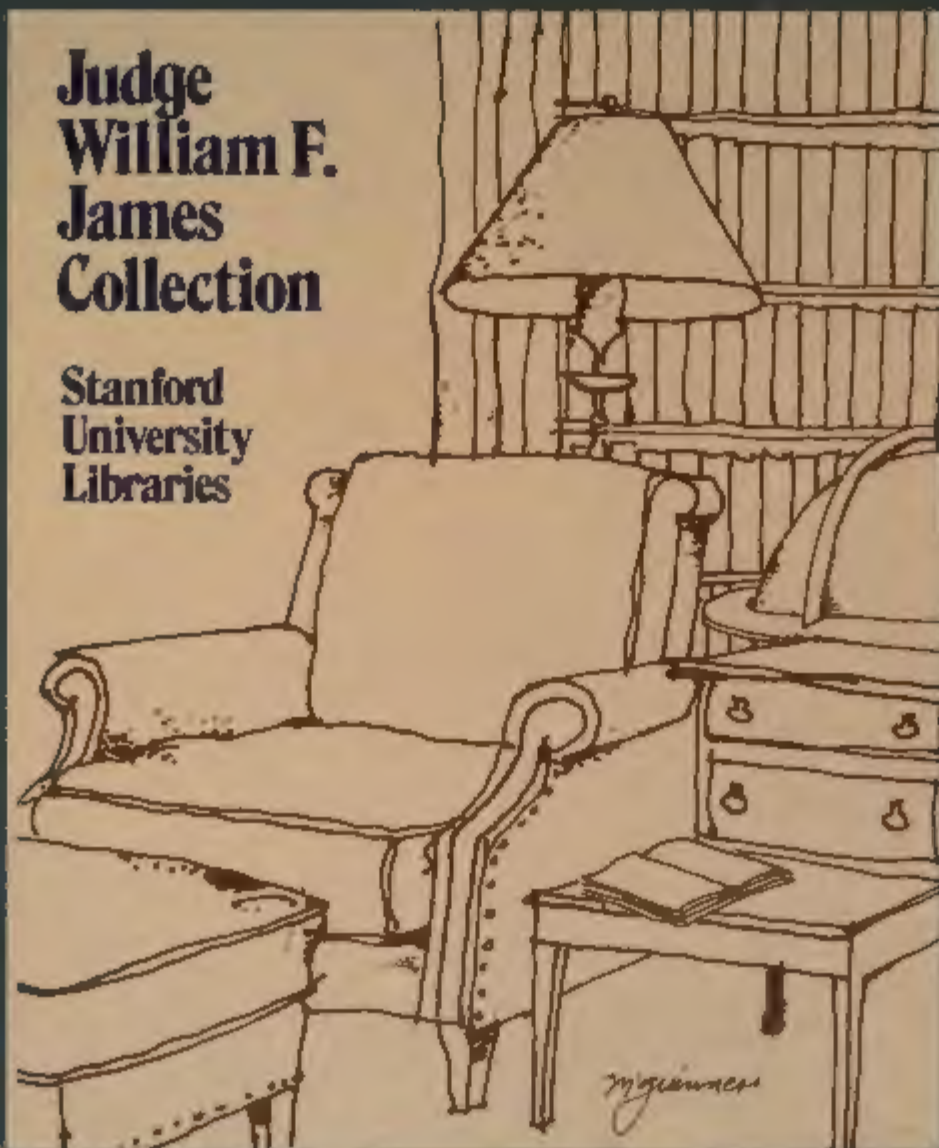
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SIR JOHN FROISSART'S
CHRONICLES
OF
ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN,
AND THE
ADJOINING COUNTRIES.
VOL. II,

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SIR JOHN FROISSART'S
CHRONICLES
OF
ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN,
AND THE
ADJOINING COUNTRIES,
FROM THE LATTER PART OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD II.
TO THE CORONATION OF HENRY IV.

NEWLY TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH EDITIONS,
WITH VARIATIONS AND ADDITIONS FROM MANY CELEBRATED MSS.

BY THOMAS JOHNES.

Who so shall telle a tale after a man,
He mooste reherse, as neighe as ever he can,
Everich worde, if it be in his charge,
All speke he never so rudely and so large;
Dr elles he mooste tellen his tale untrew,
Dr feinen thinges, or finden wordes newe.

CHAUCER'S PROLOGUE.

THE THIRD EDITION.
TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,
A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, AN ESSAY ON HIS WORKS,
A CRITICISM ON HIS HISTORY,
AND A DISSERTATION ON HIS POETRY.

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THE
CHRONICLES
OF
ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN, &c.

CHAP. LXXXIII.

SIR WALTER MANNY DEFEATS THE LORD LEWIS
OF SPAIN, AT QUIMPERLE.

WHEN the lord Lewis of Spain had embarked with his company, at the port of Guerrande, they sailed towards lower Brittany, and came to the port of Quimperlé, which is near to Quimpercorentin and St. Mahé. They disembarked, and began to pillage and destroy the country; where they found a great deal of riches, which they carried to their vessels, and then set off to do the same in other parts, not finding any to oppose them.

As soon as this news was brought to sir Walter Manny and sir Amauri de Clifton, they had a great desire to go after them; and having opened themselves on this subject to sir Yves de Tresquidi, the governor of Guingamp, the lord of Landreman, sir William de Cadoudal, the two brothers de Spinefort, and to all the other knights at Hennebion, they consented cheerfully to follow them.

They immediately set off, embarking with them three thousand archers, and never slackened sail

until they came to the port where the vessels of the lord Lewis were. They entered the harbour, killed all those who guarded the vessels, and were astonished at the quantity of riches they found in them. They then disembarked, and went to many places, burning the houses and villages. Having divided themselves into three divisions out of prudence, the more readily to find their enemies, and leaving three hundred archers to guard the vessels and the riches they had taken, they set out after them by different roads.

News of this event was soon carried to the lord Lewis of Spain, who collected his army together, and began his retreat with great speed towards his vessels; but, meeting with one of the three divisions, he saw he must fight, and put a good countenance upon it. He made many knights upon the occasion, especially his nephew named Alphonso. When the lord Lewis and his party made their first onset, it was so brilliant, numbers were unhorsed; and they would have carried the day, if the other two divisions had not come up, alarmed by the noise and cries of the country people. The attack was then very serious, and the English archers performed so well, that the Genoese and Spaniards were discomfited, almost all being killed or wounded; for the country people pursued them with stones and slings, so that the lord Lewis had difficulty to escape, very badly wounded. He fled towards his vessels; and of the six thousand, which his army consisted of, he did not save more than about three hundred: he left dead his nephew, whom he much loved.

loved. When he came to his ships, he was prevented from entering them by those archers who remained to guard the fleet. He then embarked, in the greatest haste, on board a vessel called a *lique*, with as many of his people as he could collect together, and escaped with all possible expedition.

As soon as sir Walter Manny and his party were come to the fleet, in pursuit of the lord Lewis, they embarked on board the first vessels they found ready, and hoisting every sail, made after him, leaving those of the country to take care of what remained of his army, to revenge themselves, and recover what they had been robbed of. Sir Walter and his company had a favourable wind; but though they were within sight, all the time, of the lord Lewis, they could not come up with him. His mariners made such exertions that they got into the port of Redon, where he immediately landed, with all those who had escaped; having entered the town, he made no long stay there; for the English had disembarked, and were close after, to fight with him; so he hastened away, mounted upon such horses as he could borrow in the town, and made for Rennes, which was not far off. Those who could not get any were obliged to do as well as they could, and follow their companions on foot. Many were so tired and badly mounted, that they fell into the hands of their enemies. The lord Lewis, however, made such speed that he got into Rennes; and the English and Bretons returned to Redon, where they reposed themselves that night.

On the morrow, they embarked, in order to return to the countess, their lady, at Hennebon ; but they had contrary winds, which forced them to land about three leagues from the town of Dinant. They advanced into the country, destroying it as they marched, and taking what horses they could lay hands on ; so that some were mounted without saddles or bridles, and went forwards until they came to Roche Perion ; when sir Walter Manny, addressing his companions, said, ‘Gentlemen, I should like much to attack this strong castle, all fatigued as I am, if I had any to assist me, to see if we could not conquer it.’ The other knights replied, ‘Go on, sir, boldly ; we will follow you until death.’ They then all set forward to the assault of the castle. The captain of it was Girard de Maulin ; the same who had been prisoner at Dinant, as before related : he armed his people, and placing them upon the battlements and other parts of the defence, without sheltering himself behind them, prepared for the assault. It was very sharp and perilous : among many who were severely wounded were, sir John Boteler of Warrington and sir Matthew Trelawney ; inasmuch that they were obliged to be carried off, and laid in a field, with the other wounded.

CHAP. LXXXIV.

SIR WALTER MANNY TAKES THE CASTLE OF GOY
LA FORET.

THIS Girard de Maulin had a brother of the name of René de Maulin, who was captain of another little fort, called Faouet, situated at least half a league from Roche Perion. When René heard that the English and Bretons were attacking his brother, he armed forty of his companions, and set out for Roche Perion, to adventure his own person, and to see if by any means he could give aid to his brother. René therefore came suddenly upon those knights and squires, who lay wounded in the field, attended by their servants ; and, falling upon them, made them prisoners, and drove them before him to Faouet, wounded as they were. Some of their attendants fled to sir Walter Manny, who was eagerly engaged at the assault : when they had informed him what had happened, he put an end to it, and with all his company, hastened towards Faouet, in order to overtake those who were carrying his friends away prisoners ; but, with all his speed, he was not in time to hinder René from entering his castle with them.

When the English and Bretons had come there, they directly made an assault, tired as they were ; but they did little, for the garrison defended themselves valiantly, and the night was far advanced. They lay before it that night, in order to renew the assault the next day.

Girard de Maulin was soon informed of what was passing, and, mounting his horse, set out alone for Dinant, where he arrived a little before day-break. He related to the lord Peter Portebœuf, governor of Dinant, the cause of his coming; who, when it was day, summoned all the citizens to the town-hall. Girard de Maulin there so eloquently displayed the reasons of his arrival, that the citizens and soldiers were unanimous to assist him. All sorts of people immediately armed themselves, and set off towards Faouet in the best manner they could: in all, they were six thousand persons at least.

Sir Walter Manny was informed of this by a spy; and, calling a council of his companions, they considered it would be best for them to retreat towards Hennebon; for their situation would be very dangerous, if those from Dinant should attack them on one side, and the army of the lord Charles of Blois on the other: they might be surrounded, and taken prisoners or slain. They therefore judged it most expedient, for the present, to leave their friends in prison, and give up all thoughts of assisting them till a better opportunity should offer.

As they were returning to Hennebon, they passed near a castle, called Goy la Forêt, which, a fortnight before, had surrendered itself to the lord Charles. Sir Walter told his companions, he would not advance a step farther, in spite of his fatigue, until he had made an assault on this fort, and seen who were within it. Then, hanging his target to his neck, he galloped up to the barriers and ditch of the castle, the English and Bretons following him,

him. The attack was sharp, and those within defended themselves vigorously. Sir Hervé de Léon and sir Guy de Goy were with the lord Charles before Carhaix. The assault lasting some time, sir Walter encouraged his men, by posting himself at their head in the most dangerous situations: the archers shot so dexterously, that those within the castle dared not shew themselves. Sir Walter and his party made such exertions, that the ditches on one side were filled with straw and wood, so that they could approach the walls; in which, with mallets and pick-axes, they made an opening six feet wide. They then entered through this opening, took the castle by storm, and slew all that were within. They remained there that night; on the morrow they continued their march, and arrived at Hennebon.*

CHAP. LXXXV.

THE LORD CHARLES DE BLOIS TAKES THE TOWN OF CARHAIX.†

WHEN the countess of Montfort was informed of the return of the English and Bretons, she went out to meet them, and most nobly thanked

* I suspect, although the historian of Brittany copies Froissart exactly, that la Roche Perion must be Rosperden, which is in Bleau's map of Brittany; and Barnes calls it Rosternan: but I cannot find any where this Dinan, for Dinan le Sauveur is in the diocese of St. Malo, which must have been too far off. There is much confusion in the names of places.

† Carhaix,—a town in the diocese of Quimper.

them with kisses and embraces: she gave a grand dinner and entertainment to all the knights and squires of renown.

At this period, the lord Charles had conquered the town of Vannes, and was besieging Carhaix. The countess and sir Walter Manny sent special messengers to king Edward, to inform him how the lord Charles of Blois, and the lords of France, had re-captured Rennes, Vannes, and many other large towns and castles in Brittany; and that, unless there were succours speedily sent, they would gain the remainder of that duchy.

The ambassadors set out from Hennebon, and arrived at Cornwall, whence they journeyed towards Windfor.

We will now return to lord Charles of Blois, who had so pressed the town of Carhaix by his attacks and his engines, that it was surrendered to him, the lives and fortunes of the inhabitants being preserved. He pardoned what was passed, and the inhabitants swore homage and fealty to him, acknowledging him for their true lord.

Lord Charles placed new officers in the town, and remained there with the lords of France, to recruit themselves and the army. He held a council upon marching to Hennebon, which being determined on, they besieged it as closely as they were able. That town was very well provided with men, provisions and ammunition.

The lord Lewis of Spain came to these lords the fourth day after they had begun the siege: he had remained at Rennes six weeks, in order to have
his

his wounds properly attended to and cured. They were rejoiced to see him, as he was much esteemed by these noblemen. The French army increased every day; for as great numbers of barons and knights were daily returning from the king of Spain, (who at that time was at war with the king of Granada and the Saracens,) in passing through Poitou, hearing of this war in Brittany, they turned their steps thither. The lord Charles had erected fifteen or sixteen large engines before Hennebon, which threw great stones over the walls into the town: but those within were not much alarmed at them, for they had taken every precaution to shelter themselves against their effects: they frequently came to the walls and battlements, and, by way of joke, kept rubbing them, crying out, ‘Go your ways, and seek for your friends who are sleeping in the plains of Quimperlé;’ which vexed mightily the lord Lewis of Spain, and the Genoese.

CHAP. LXXXVI.

SIR JOHN BOTELER AND SIR MATTHEW THRELAW-
NEY ARE RESCUED FROM DEATH.

THE lord Lewis of Spain came one day into the tent of lord Charles of Blois, where were numbers of the French nobility, and requested of him a boon for all the services he had done him, and as a recompense for them.

The lord Charles promised to grant whatever he should ask, as he held himself under many obligations

tions to him. Upon which the lord Lewis desired that the two prisoners, sir John Boteler and sir Matthew Trelawney, who were in the prison of the castle of Faouet, might be sent for, and delivered up to him, to do with them as should please him best. 'This is the boon I ask; for they have discomfited, pursued, and wounded me, have also slain the lord Alphonso, my nephew, and I have no other way to be revenged on them than to have them beheaded in sight of their friends who are shut up in Hennebon.'

The lord Charles was much amazed at this request, and replied; 'I will certainly give you the prisoners, since you have asked for them; but you will be very cruel and much to blame, if you put to death two such valiant men; and our enemies will have an equal right to do the same to any of our friends whom they may capture, for we are not clear what may happen to any one of us every day. I therefore intreat, dear sir and sweet cousin, that you would be better advised.' Lord Lewis said, that if he did not keep his promise, he would quit the army, and never serve or love him as long as he lived. When the lord Charles saw that he must comply, he sent off messengers to the castle of Faouet, who returned with the two prisoners, and carried them to the tent of lord Charles.

Neither prayers nor intreaties could prevail on lord Lewis to desist from his purpose of having them beheaded after dinner, so much was he enraged against them.

All

All the conversation, and every thing that passed between the lord Charles and lord Lewis, relative to these two prisoners, was told to sir Walter Manny and sir Amauri de Clifton by friends and spies, who represented the danger in which the two knights were. They bethought themselves what was best to be done, but, after considering different schemes, could fix on none; at last sir Walter said, 'Gentlemen, it would do us great honour if we could rescue these two knights: if we adventure it, and should fail, king Edward would hold himself obliged to us; and all wise men, who may hear of it in times to come, will thank us, and say that we had done our duty. I will tell you my plan, and you are able to undertake it; for I think we are bound to risk our lives in endeavouring to save those of two such gallant knights. I propose therefore, if it be agreeable to you, that we arm immediately, and form ourselves into two divisions: one shall set off, as soon after dinner as possible, by this gate, and draw up near the ditch, to skirmish with and alarm the enemy; who, you may believe, will soon muster to that part; and, if you please, you, sir Amauri de Clifton, shall have the command of it, and shall take with you a thousand good archers, to make those that may come to you retreat back again, and three hundred men at arms. I will have with me a hundred of my companions, and five hundred archers, and will sally out at the postern on the opposite side privately, and coming behind them, will fall upon their camp, which we shall find unguarded. I will take with me those who are acquainted

acquainted with the road to lord Charles's tent, where the two prisoners are, and will make for that part of the camp. I can assure you, that I and my companions will do every thing in our power to bring back in safety these two knights, if it please God.'

This propofal was agreeable to all ; and they directly feperated, to arm and prepare themselves. About the hour of dinner, fir Amauri and his party fet off ; and having had the principal gate of Hennebon opened for them, which led to the road that went ftraight to the army of lord Charles, they rushed forward, making great cries and noife, to the tents and huts, which they cut down, and killed all that came in their way. The enemy was much alarmed, and, putting themfelves in motion, got armed as quickly as poffible, and advanced towards the Englifh and Bretons, who received them very warmly. The skirmifh was fharp, and many on each fide were flain.

When fir Amauri perceived that almoft the whole of the army was in motion, and drawn out, he retreated very handfomely, fighting all the time, to the barriers of the town, when he fuddenly halted : then the archers, who had been pofted on each fide of the ditch beforehand, made fuch good ufe of their bows, that the engagement was very hot, and all the army of the enemy ran thither, except the fervants.

During this time, fir Walter Manny with his company iffued out privily by the poftern, and, making a circuit, came upon the rear of the enemy's camp :

camp: they were not perceived by any one, for all were gone to the skirmish upon the ditch. Sir Walter made straight for the tent of lord Charles, where he found the two knights, sir John Boteler and sir Matthew Trelawney, whom he immediately mounted upon two couriers which he had ordered to be brought for them, and, returning as fast as possible, entered Hennebon by the same way as he had sallied forth. The countess came to see them, and received them with great joy.

The English and Bretons continued still fighting at the barriers, where they gave their enemies sufficient employment.

News was soon brought to the nobles of France, that the two knights had been rescued; which when the lord Lewis heard, he was sorely disappointed, and inquired the way the English and Bretons, who had rescued them, had taken: they informed him, that they had immediately returned, and were probably now in Hennebon. The lord Lewis, upon this, left the assault, and retired to his tent in despatch; and all the rest of the army began to retreat from the barriers.

In this combat, two knights of the countess's party were captured, who had ventured too far; the lord of Landreman and the governor of Guingamp; which gave the lord Charles much pleasure. They were carried to his tent, where they were so effectually talked to, that they turned on his side, and swore homage and fealty to him.

Three days after, there was a council of all the nobles held in lord Charles's tent, to consider what

was

was best to be done; for they saw that the town and castle of Hennebon was too well provided with men and provisions for them to expect to make any impression there: and, on the other hand, the country round about was so destroyed that they had difficulty in finding forage: winter was also approaching. They therefore determined to separate; and they earnestly advised lord Charles to place sufficient garrisons, with able and valiant captains, in all the castles and towns he had taken, to prevent his enemies from re-conquering them: they agreed, that if any person should interfere, and propose a truce, to last until Whitsuntide, they would readily consent to it.

CHAP. LXXXVII.

LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS TAKES THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF JUGON*.

ALL the army agreed to what this council had determined upon; for it was between the feasts of St. Remy and All saints 1342: they then separated, and went each to his country. Lord Charles marched to Carhaix, and took with him all the barons and lords of Brittany that were of his party. He also kept with him many of the French nobles, to advise with and consult.

Whilst he was in Carhaix, settling and ordering his different garrisons to their posts, it happened

* In the diocese of the St. Pol de Léon, five leagues from the sea, and seven from St. Brieux.

that a rich citizen and great merchant of the town of Jugon was met by his marshal, sir Robert de Beauvais*, whom he captured, and brought to lord Charles in the town of Carhaix. This citizen provided all the purveyances for the countess of Montfort, in the town of Jugon and elsewhere, and was much beloved and esteemed in that town, which is well inclosed and finely situated : the castle is also handsome and strong. He was very much afraid of being put to death, and begged that he might be allowed to pay for his ransom. To make short of it, the lord Charles had him so often examined on different subjects, that at last he agreed to betray the town of Jugon to him, and engaged to deliver one of the gates of it at a certain time in the night; for he was so much respected in the town, that he had the keeping of the keys: and, to give security for his promise, he left his son as hostage for him. Lord Charles promised to give him five hundred livres of yearly rent.

The day fixed for the opening of the gate of Jugon arrived, and lord Charles entered the town at midnight, with a large force. The watch of the castle, perceiving this, gave the alarm, and cried out, ‘Treason! treason!’ The inhabitants, not suspecting any thing, began to stir; and, when they saw that their town was lost, they ran in crowds towards the castle. The citizen, who had betrayed them, ran thither also, in order to hide his treachery.

* Robert de Beaumanoir, mareschal de Bretagne.—*Hist. de Bretagne.*

As soon as it was day, lord Charles and his party entered the houses of the inhabitants; to repose themselves; and took whatever they pleased. When he saw that the castle was so strong and full of citizens, he declared he would never quit the place, until he should have possession of it.

The governor, sir Girard de Rochefort, and the citizens, soon found out they had been betrayed; they seized, therefore, the traitor, and hung him on the battlements, on the outside of the walls of the castle. Having received notice of the lord Charles's declaration, that he would not depart until he had gained the castle, and finding that they had not provisions for more than ten days, they consented to surrender it, upon having their lives spared, and the remnant of their chattels restored to them.

This was granted; and they swore homage and fealty to lord Charles, who continued the same sir Girard de Rochefort governor of it, having reinforced the town and castle with men and provisions.

Whilst these things were passing, some prudent and wise men in Brittany were busy in proposing a truce between the lord Charles of Blois and the countess of Montfort, who consented to it, as did all her allies: for the king of England had advised them so to do, by the messengers which came to him from the countess and sir Walter Manny.

As soon as this truce was concluded, the countess of Montfort embarked, and passed over to England.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXXVIII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND MAKES GREAT FEASTS AND
TOURNAMENTS AT LONDON, THROUGH AFFECTION
FOR THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY.

IT has been related in the foregoing parts of this history, how the king of England had great wars in many distant parts and countries, and that he maintained, every where, armies and garrisons at a heavy expence: that is to say, in Picardy, Normandy, Gascony, Poitou, Saintonge, Brittany, and in Scotland. You have also heard how passionately he was smitten with the charms of the noble lady, Catherine countess of Salisbury; insomuch that he could not put her out of his mind, for love reminded him of her day and night, and represented her beauties and lively behaviour in such bewitching points of view, that he could think of nothing else, notwithstanding that the earl of Salisbury was one of his most trusty counsellors, and one who in England had most loyally served him.

Out of affection for the said lady, and his desire to see her, he ordered a great feast and tournament to be proclaimed, to be holden in London the middle of August. He sent his proclamation into Flanders, Hainault, Brabant and France, promising passports to all knights and squires, from whatever country they might come, for their arrival and return. He commanded, that all barons, lords, knights and squires, of his own realm, should be

there without fail, if they had any love for him : and he expressly ordered the earl of Salisbury to have the lady his wife there, with as many young ladies as he could collect to attend her. The earl very cheerfully complied with the king's request ; for he thought of nothing evil ; and the good lady dared not say nay. She came, however, much against her will ; for she guessed the reason which made the king so earnest for her attendance, but was afraid to discover it to her husband, imagining at the same time, by her conduct and conversation to make the king change his opinion.

There were at this feast, which was very noble and magnificent, William earl of Hainault, sir John his uncle, and great numbers of barons and knights of high birth : the dancing and feasting continued for the space of fifteen days. The lord John, eldest son of the viscount * Beaumont in England, was killed at this tournament. He was a handsome and hardy knight, and bore for arms a shield azur, besprinkled with flower-de-luces or, with a lion or rampant, and a battoon gules upon the shield.

The ladies and damsels were most superbly dressed and ornamented, according to their different degrees, except the countess of Salisbury, who came there in as plain attire as possible. She was not willing that the king should give up too much time to admire her ; for she had neither wish nor inclination to obey him in any thing evil, that might turn out to her own or her husband's dishonour.

* No mention is made of this in Dugdale, and there were no
 nobles, but barons, at that period.

At this feast were Henry, surnamed Wry-neck, earl of Lancaster, sir Henry his son earl of Derby, lord Robert d'Artois earl of Richmond, the earl of Northampton and Gloucester, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Hereford; the earl of Arundel, the earl of Cornwall, the earl of Oxford, the earl of Suffolk, the lord Stamford, and many other barons and knights of England.

The king, on the departure of these nobles, received letters from different lords in the countries of Gascony, Bayonne, Flanders, and from his great friend Jacob von Artaveld. He also heard from the borders of Scotland, from the lord Roos of Hamlake and lord Percy, and the lord Edward Baliol, who was governor of Berwick, that the Scots kept the truce, which had been agreed to last year between the English and Scots, very indifferently; and that they had issued out proclamations for assembling a large force, but he was uncertain to what part they would direct it.

The garrisons which he kept in Poitou, Saintonge, la Rochelle, and the Bourdoulois, wrote to inform him that the French were making great preparations for war; and that as the truce agreed to by the kings of France and England at Arras, after the breaking up of the siege of Tournay, was near expiring, it behoved his majesty to have good advice. He answered every part of their letters.

CHAP. LXXXIX.

THE KING OF ENGLAND SENDS THE LORD ROBERT
DARTOIS INTO BRITTANY.

DURING the sessions of a parliament held at London, the king was desirous of putting every thing else aside, and to succour the countess of Montfort, who, at that time, was on a visit to the queen of England. He entreated, therefore, his dear cousin lord Robert d'Artois, that he would collect as many men at arms and archers as he could, and pass over with the countess into Brittany.

The lord Robert made his preparations, and, having assembled his number of men at arms and archers, went to Southampton, where they lay a considerable time on account of contrary winds. About Easter, they embarked and put to sea.

At this same parliament, the barons earnestly advised the king, in consideration of the multitude of business he had upon his hands, to send the bishop of Lincoln to his brother-in-law the king of Scotland, to treat for a firm and stable truce to last for two other years.

The king was loth to do it; as he was desirous to carry on the war against the Scots in such a manner that they themselves should request a truce. His council, however, with all due deference, said, that that would not be the most advisable means, considering he had before so ruined and destroyed that country, and that he had more important af-
fairs

fairs on his hands in other parts. They added, that it was great wisdom, when engaged in different wars, to pacify one power by a truce, another by fair words, and make war on the third.

The king was persuaded, by these and other reasons, and begged the above-mentioned prelate to undertake this mission. The bishop would not say nay, but set out on his journey. He soon returned without doing any thing, and related to the king, that the king of Scotland had no power to make a truce without the will and consent of the king of France. Upon hearing this, the king exclaimed aloud, that he would shortly so ruin and destroy the kingdom of Scotland, it should never recover from it. He issued out a proclamation through his realm, for all persons to assemble at Berwick, by the feast of Easter, properly armed, and prepared to follow him wherever he should lead them, except those who were to go into Brittany.

When Easter came, the king held a great court at Berwick. All the princes, lords and knights who at that time were in England, were there, as well as great numbers of the common people of the country.

They remained there three weeks, without making any excursion; for prudent and good men were busily employing themselves to form a truce, which at last was agreed and sworn to, for two years; and the Scots had it confirmed by the king of France.

The king of England sent all his people to their own homes: he himself returned to Windsor. He

sent the lord Thomas Holland and sir John Darvel to Bayonne, with two hundred men at arms and four hundred archers, to guard that frontier against the French.

CHAP. XC.

A SEA ENGAGEMENT, OFF GUERNSEY, BETWEEN THE LORD ROBERT D'ARTOIS AND THE LORD LEWIS OF SPAIN.

WE must now return to lord Robert d'Artois and his army. Easter fell so late this year, that it was about the beginning of May; and the middle of that month was the period when the truce between the lord Charles and the countess of Montfort was to expire.

The lord Charles had received information of the countess of Montfort's journey into England, of her solicitations for assistance, and of the succour the king of England was to give her: on which account, the lord Lewis of Spain, sir Charles Grimaldi and sir Otho Doria, were stationed off Guernsey, with thirty-two large vessels, having on board three thousand Genoese, and a thousand men at arms.

The lord Robert d'Artois, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Suffolk, the earl of Oxford, the baron of Stamford, the lord Despenfer, the lord Bouchier, with many other knights from England, and their followers, were accompanying the countess of Montfort to Brittany, and
had

had a wind to their wish: when in an afternoon, as they were near the island of Guernsey, they perceived the large fleet of the Genoese, of which the lord Lewis was commander.

Upon this, the sailors cried out, 'Gentlemen, arm yourselves and make ready, for here are the Genoese and Spaniards bearing down upon us.' The English then sounded their trumpets, spread out their pennons to the wind, ornamented with the devices of their arms and with the banner of St. George. Every one posted himself properly at his quarters, and filling up the intervals with archers, they advanced full sail toward the enemy. They might be about forty-six vessels, great and small; but there were none so large as nine of those under the lord Lewis, who had likewise three galleys; in each of which were the three chiefs, the lord Lewis, sir Charles Grimaldi and sir Otho Doria. The fleets approached each other, and the Genoese began to shoot with their cross-bows at random, which the English archers returned. This continued some time, and many were wounded: but when the barons, knights and squires were able to come to close combat, and could reach each other with their lances, then the battle raged, and they made good trial of each other's courage. The countess of Montfort was equal to a man, for she had the heart of a lion; and, with a rusty sharp sword in her hand, she combated bravely.

The Genoese and Spaniards, who were in these large vessels, threw down upon their enemies great bars of iron, and annoyed them much with very

long lances. This engagement began about vespers, and lasted until night parted them; for, soon after vespers, there came on such a fog, they could scarcely distinguish each other; they therefore separated, cast anchor, and got their ships in order, but did not disarm, for they intended renewing the fight the next day.

About midnight, a violent storm arose; and so tremendous was it, that it seemed as if the world would have been destroyed: there were not, on either side, any so bold, but who wished themselves on shore; for these barges and vessels drove so furiously against each other, that they feared they would go to pieces.

The English lords inquired of the sailors what was best to be done: they answered, to disembark as soon as they could; for there were such risks at sea, that, if the wind should continue as violent as it then was, there would be danger of their being all drowned. They therefore drew up their anchors, set their sails about half a quarter, and made off. On the other hand, the Genoese weighed their anchors, and put off to sea; for their vessels, being so much larger than the English, could weather the tempest more securely; and also, if they should drive too near the shore, they ran a risk of being wrecked, which made them take to the deep. As they were going off, they fell in with four English vessels, laden with provisions, which had kept out of the engagement: they seized them, and took them in tow. The wind and tempest were so vehement, that, in one day, they were driven more
than

than a hundred leagues from the place where they had fought.

The lord Robert gained land at a small port near the city of Vannes; and they were all rejoiced when they set foot on shore.

CHAP. XCI.

THE LORD ROBERT D'ARTOIS TAKES THE CITY OF VANNES.

THUS by this tempest was the engagement at sea interrupted, between the lord Robert and lord Lewis, and their fleets. It is difficult to say to whom the honour belongs; for they separated unwillingly, on account of the badness of the weather.

The English, having landed near Vannes, disembarked, on the sand, their horses, provisions, and arms. They then ordered their fleet to make for Hennebon, and determined to lay siege to Vannes.

The lords Hervé de Léon and Olivier de Clifton were in it, as governors for the lord Charles of Blois: the lords of Tournemine and Loheac were there also. When they perceived that the English were coming to besiege them, they looked well to the castle, their watch towers and gates; and at every gate they posted a knight, with ten men at arms, and twenty archers among the cross-bows.

To return to the lord Lewis and his fleet, who were, all that night and the morrow until noon, violently driven about by the tempest, and in very great danger: they lost two of their ships, with all
that

that were on board. The third day early, the stormy weather abated, when the knights asked the sailors which was the nearest land ; who answered, the kingdom of Navarre : and the masters of the vessels said, the tempest had driven them more than one hundred and twenty leagues from the coasts of Brittany. They cast anchor, and waited for the return of the tide. When flood came, they had a tolerably fair wind to carry them towards la Rochelle. They coasted by Bayonne, but did not touch there : and falling in with four vessels belonging to Bayonne, which were coming from Flanders, they attacked and took them, and put all whom they found on board to death. They made for la Rochelle, and, in a few days, came to Guerrande, where they landed ; and, having heard that the lord Robert d'Artois was laying siege to Vannes, they sent to lord Charles, who was at Rennes, to know how he would have them act.

The lord Robert, as you have heard, was before Vannes, with a thousand men at arms, and three thousand arches. He overran, burnt and destroyed all the country round about, as far as Dinant and Goi la Forêt, so that no one dared remain in the flat country. During this siege of Vannes, there were many skirmishes and attacks at the barriers of the town, the inhabitants of which were eager to defend themselves. The countess remained all the time with lord Robert at the siege.

Sir Walter Manny, who had continued in Hennebont the whole time that the countess was in England, gave

gave up the charge of it to the lord of Cadoudal ; and taking with him sir Yves de Trefiquidi, a hundred men at arms, and two hundred archers, came to the army before Vannes. Soon after his arrival, the town was assaulted in three places at once ; and the English archers shot so thickly, that scarcely any one dared to show themselves at the battlements. This combat lasted a whole day, and many were killed and wounded on both sides. Towards evening, the English retired to their quarters, and the inhabitants to their houses, quite tired, when they disarmed themselves : but the army did not so ; they only took off their helmets, and drank once to refresh themselves. Presently after, by the advice of lord Robert, the army was drawn out again in three divisions : two of them were led to that part of the town where they intended to make the strongest assault, and the third was ordered to remain quiet, until the engagement should have lasted some time, which would probably bring all the inhabitants to that quarter to defend themselves : they were then to advance to the weakest part of the place, and, being provided with rope ladders and iron hooks, they were to attempt to scale the walls and conquer the town. This was executed. The lord Robert marched with the van division, and skirmished close up to the barriers : the earl of Salisbury did the same at another gate : and because it was very late, to alarm the inhabitants more, they made great fires, so that the flames lighted the whole town ; which made many think their houses were on fire. They cried out, ' Treason !

son ! treason ! arm yourselves ;' for many were already gone to rest, as they had worked hard in the day time.

They got up as quickly as they could, and ran, without any order, and without speaking to their captains, to the part where the fires were. The lords also, who were in their hôtels, armed themselves. In the midst of this bustle, the earl of Oxford and sir Walter Manny advanced, with the third division, to a part where there was no guard ; and, having fixed their ladders, mounted them, with their targets on their heads, and entered the town very quietly, without the French or Bretons, who were within it, having the least suspicion until they saw their enemies in the streets. They then all took to flight, each to save himself : their captains, not having time to get into the castle, mounted their horses, and, passing through a postern, gained the fields, to save their lives : happy were those who could by this means escape. However, the four knights mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, saved themselves, and a part of their people ; but all who were encountered by the English were slain or made prisoners. The town of Vannes was overrun and sacked : all sorts of people entered into it ; and the countess of Montfort made her entry there with lord Robert d'Artois, to her great joy.

CHAP. XCII.

THE DEATH OF THE LORD ROBERT D'ARTOIS.

THUS, as I have related, was the town of Vannes taken. Five days after that event, the countess of Montfort, sir Walter Manny, sir Yves de Trefiquidi, and many other English and Breton knights returned to Hennebon.

At the same time, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, with three thousand men at arms and three thousand archers, took leave of the lord Robert, left Vannes, and went towards Rennes, which the lord Charles and his lady had quitted four days before, and were gone to Nantes; but they had left in that city great numbers of knights and squires.

The lord Lewis of Spain remained at sea with his Genoese and Spaniards, and so carefully guarded the coasts of England, that no one could come from thence, or go into Brittany, without much danger; and this year he did great damage to the English.

The country was much agitated by the capture of the city of Vannes; for they imagined that the captains who were within it ought to have defended it against all the world, as it was sufficiently strong, very well provided with men at arms, artillery, and all other sorts of provision. The lord of Clifton and sir Hervé de Léon were quite ashamed of their mishap; and, their enemies speaking villanously of what they had done, they sent to a great number of knights and squires of Brittany, and entreated
 4 they

they would meet them at an appointed rendezvous, by a certain day, with as many followers as they could bring. They all cheerfully promised, and exerted themselves so much, as did many of the people in Brittany, that, by the appointed time, there came before the town of Vannes twelve thousand men armed, including freemen and feoffs. Thither came, with a numerous body, the lord Robert de Beaumanoir, marshal of Brittany; and having besieged the city on every side, they began to assault it very sharply. When the lord Robert found himself thus besieged in Vannes, he was not negligent to defend it valiantly against the Bretons, who repeated their attacks with great courage and eagerness, lest those who had gone for Rennes should return and disappoint their enterprise.

They gave one assault so well supported by the knights, squires, and even by the commonalty of the country, that they overpowered the barriers of the town, then the gates, and entered the town by storm, putting the English to flight, killing and wounding many. Among the last was the lord Robert, who was very badly wounded, insomuch that it was with difficulty he escaped being taken: he fled through a postern gate, and lord Stafford with him.

At this capture of Vannes, the lord Despencer, son of the lord Hugh Spencer, mentioned at the beginning of this history, was taken prisoner by sir Hervé de Léon; but he was so badly wounded that he died the third day afterwards. Thus did the French regain the town of Vannes.

Lord

Lord Robert d'Artois continued some little time in Hennebon; but at last he was recommended to return to England, where he would find more skilful surgeons and physicians. On his voyage, he was so much affected and oppressed by sea-sickness that his wounds grew worse: he survived but a short time after he had been carried to London. He was courteous, courageous and gallant, and of the first blood in the world.

He was buried at London in the church of St. Paul; and the king of England made his obsequies as solemn as if they had been for his cousin-german the earl of Derby. The lord Robert was much lamented in England; and when the king was informed of his death, he swore he would never rest until he had revenged it: he would go himself into Brittany, and reduce the country to such a situation that it should not recover itself for forty years.

He issued out his summons for all manner of persons to get themselves in readiness to follow him at the end of the month; and he collected a numerous fleet, well provided with every thing that was necessary. At the end of the month, he put to sea, and anchored near Vannes, at the same place where lord Robert had landed with his army. It took them three days to disembark their horses, provisions, &c.: on the fourth, they advanced toward Vannes. The earls of Salisbury and Pembroke with the English before named, were all this time carrying on the siege of Rennes.

CHAP. XCIII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND CONTINUES THE WAR IN
PERSON IN BRITTANY.

THE English king was so active from the time of his landing in Brittany, that he advanced with his whole army before Vannes, and laid siege to it. At that time there was in Vannes, Olivier de Clifson, sir Hervé de Léon, the lord of Tournemine, sir Geoffry de Malestroit, sir Guy de Loheac, who having imagined, for some time, that the king of England would come to Brittany, had amply provided the town and castle with men, and every kind of stores and provisions.

When the king had quartered his men, he ordered an assault, and his archers to make good use of their bows. This lasted half a day; but he won nothing, though they laboured hard, so well was the town defended.

As soon as the countess of Montfort knew of the arrival of the king of England, she set out from Hennebon, accompanied by sir Walter Manny and other knights and squires, and came towards Vannes to compliment the king, and entertain him and all the barons of his army. After a stay of four days, she and her suit returned to Hennebon.

We must now speak of the lord Charles of Blois, who remained in the city of Nantes. When he was informed that the king of England was come into Brittany, he signified it to the king of France, his uncle, in order to obtain assistance.

The

The king of England perceiving that Vannes was strong, and well provided with every necessary, and hearing from his people that the country round about was poor, and so destroyed that they had difficulty in getting forage for themselves and horses, as they were very numerous, ordered the earl of Arundel, the baron of Stafford, sir Walter Manny, sir Yves de Trefiquidi, sir Girard de Rochefort, with five hundred men at arms and six thousand archers to remain there.

He himself with the rest of his army, advanced towards Rennes, burning and ruining the country on all sides, and was most joyfully received by his army, who lay before it, and had been there for a considerable time. When he had tarried five days, he learnt that the lord Charles was at Nantes, collecting a large force of men at arms. He set out, therefore, leaving those whom he had found at Rennes, and came before Nantes, which he besieged as closely as he could; but he was unable to surround it, such was its size and extent. The marshals therefore, and their people, overran the country, and destroyed it.

The king of England drew out, one day, his army in battle array on a hill near Nantes, in expectation that the lord Charles would come forth, and offer him an opportunity of fighting with him: but, having waited from morning till noon in vain, they returned to their quarters: the light horse however, in their retreat, galloped up to the barriers, and set fire to the suburbs.

The king of England, in this manner, remained before Nantes: the lord Charles, who was within it, sent frequent information to the king of France of the state of his affairs, who had already ordered his son, the duke of Normandy, to his assistance, and which duke was then come to Angers, where he had fixed the rendezvous for his forces that came to him from all quarters.

During this siege, the king of England made frequent skirmishes, but without success, always losing some of his men. When, therefore, he found he could gain nothing by his assaults, and that the lord Charles would not come out into the plains to fight with him, he established there the earl of Oxford, sir Henry Beaumont, the lord Percy, the lord Roos, the lord Mowbray, the lord Delawar, sir Reginald Cobham, sir John Lisle, with six hundred men armed and two hundred archers.

He himself advanced into the country of Brittany, wasting it wherever he went, until he came to the town of Dinant, of which sir Peter Portebœuf was governor. He immediately laid siege to it all round, and ordered it to be vigorously assaulted: those within made a valiant resistance. Thus did the king of England in one season, and in one day, make an assault by himself, or those ordered by him, upon three cities in Brittany and a good town.

CHAP. XCIV.

THE LORD OF CLISSON AND SIR HERVE DE LEON
ARE TAKEN PRISONERS BY THE ENGLISH.

DURING the time that the king of England was thus overrunning the country of Brittany, his army that was besieging Vannes made every day some sharp assaults upon one of the gates : all the most expert warriors of each side were attracted to that place, and many gallant deeds of arms were performed ; for those of Vannes had opened the gate, and posted themselves at the barriers, because they had noticed the banners of the earl of Arundel, the earl of Warwick, the baron of Stafford, and sir Walter Manny, who appeared to them to adventure themselves too rashly. Upon which the lord of Clifton, sir Hervé de Léon, and some other knights, took more courage. The engagement was well supported on both sides, and lasted a considerable time : but finally the English were repulsed, and driven back from the barriers.

The Breton knights, opening the barriers, pushed forward, sword in hand, leaving behind them six knights, with a sufficient force, to guard the town, and pursued the English, who fought well as they retreated. The conflict became stronger ; for the English increased and were strengthened, which forced the Bretons to retire, but not so regularly as they had advanced. The struggle now was very hard : the Breton knights had much difficulty to return, and many were killed and wounded.

When those at the barriers saw their people retreating and driven back, they closed them, but so untimely that the lord of Clifton was shut out, and also sir Hervé de Léon, who were both taken prisoners. On the other hand, on the part of the English, who had advanced too eagerly, was the baron of Stafford, who was inclosed between the barriers and the gate, where the combat raged very fiercely. The lord Stafford was taken, and many of his people were made prisoners, or slain. So the English retreated to their quarters, and the Bretons into the city of Vannes.

CHAP. XCV.

THE KING OF ENGLAND TAKES THE TOWN OF
DINANT.—THE LORD LEWIS OF SPAIN MAKES
SOME CRUISES AT SEA.

IN the manner above related were these knights taken prisoners. After that engagement, there were not any others of consequence; for each side was upon its guard. The king of England had laid siege to Dinant, who when he had been four days before it, collected a great number of boats, in which he placed his archers, and had them rowed up to the pallisades of wood with which the town was inclosed. They shot so well that no one dared scarcely to shew himself at the windows, or any where else, to defend it. With the archers, there were others who with sharp axes, whilst the archers made use of their bows, cut the pallisades, and in a short time did

did so much damage that they flung down a large part of them, and entered the town by force.

The town's people then fled towards the market place; but there was little regularity or order among them, for those who had passed the ditch in boats, and had entered the town, advanced to the gate, and opened it, so that every one might pass. Thus was the town of Dinant in Brittany taken, sacked and pillaged, and the governor, sir Peter Portebœuf, made prisoner. The English took whatever they pleased, and made a rich booty, for the town at that time was very wealthy and full of merchandise.

When the king of England had atchieved this deed, and had conquered the town, he left it empty, not having any intention of keeping it, and advanced towards Vannes, where he took up his quarters.

We must now speak of the lord Lewis of Spain, the lord Charles Grimaldi and lord Otho Doria, who at this time had under their command eight galleys, thirteen barges, and thirty-nine vessels, manned by Genoese and Spaniards. They kept cruising between England and Brittany, and at times did great mischief to the English, who were coming to recruit their countrymen with troops and provisions.

Once, among other times, they attacked the fleet of the king of England, that lay at anchor in a small port of Brittany near Vannes, which not being sufficiently guarded, they slew a great part of the mariners, and would have done much more damage,

if the English, who were before Vannes, had not hastened to their assistance. When this news was brought to the army, every one was in motion: but, notwithstanding the speed they made, they could not prevent the lord Lewis and his party from carrying off four vessels laden with provisions, and sinking three others, the crews of which were all drowned. The king was then advised to send one part of his fleet to the harbour of Brest, and the other to that of Hennebon, which he complied with, and continued to besiege both Vannes and Rennes.

CHAP. XCVI.

THE DUKE OF NORMANDY BRINGS WITH HIM SOME LORDS OF FRANCE, TO OPPOSE THE KING OF ENGLAND IN BRITTANY.

WE will now return to the army which the duke of Normandy was marching into Brittany, to assist his cousin the lord Charles of Blois.

The duke after having collected his forces, was informed how the king of England was laying waste all the country of Brittany; that he was besieging three cities, and had taken the town of Dinant: he set out therefore with a very great force, from the city of Angers, having more than four thousand men at arms, and thirty thousand others. All the baggage took the high road for Nantes, under the command of the two marshals of France, the lord of Montmorency, and the lord de St. Venant.

After them came the duke of Normandy, the earl d'Alençon

d'Alençon his uncle, the earl of Blois his cousin, the duke de Bourbon, the earl de Ponthieu, the earl of Boulogne, the earl of Vendôme, the earl of Dammartin, the lord of Craon, the lord of Coucy, the lord of Sully, the lord of Fresnes, the lord of Roye, and so many barons and knights from Normandy, Auvergne, Limousin, Berry, Maine, and Poitou, that it would take too much time to name them all; and they were every day increasing, for the king of France had reiterated his summons.

The English lords before Nantes received intelligence, that the duke of Normandy was on his march with forty thousand men: this news they sent off in great haste to king Edward; the receiving of which made him very thoughtful; and he had at one time the idea of breaking up the siege of Vannes, as well as that of Rennes, and to retire towards Nantes. He was, however, advised to continue where he was, as his position was strong, and near to his fleet, and to wait for his enemies. He was also advised to send for the division of his army that was before Nantes, and continue the siege of Rennes; as that place was not so far distant, but that his army could come to his assistance, if there should be any necessity for it. The king followed this counsel, and sent for those that were before Nantes, who came to the siege of Vannes.

The duke of Normandy and his army arrived at Nantes, where the lord Charles and a number of knights were. The lords were lodged in the town, and the army round about; for there was not room for them in the city or suburbs.

CHAP. XCVII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND AND THE DUKE OF NORMANDY ENCAMP THEIR ARMIES OPPOSITE TO EACH OTHER, NEAR TO VANNES.

DURING the time the duke of Normandy remained in Nantes, the lords of England who were before Rennes made a vigorous assault upon that city: they had, for a long time before, prepared machines for this attack. Though it lasted a whole day, they gained no advantage, but lost many of their men.

The baron d'Ancenis, the lord du Pont, sir John de Malestroit, Yvain Charruel, and Bertrand du Guesclin, then a squire, were in the town, and, as well as the bishop, defended themselves so valiantly, that they suffered no loss. Notwithstanding this, the English remained before the place, and wasted and destroyed the country round about.

The duke of Normandy left Nantes with his army, and was advised to advance towards Vannes, that he might the sooner meet the enemy; for he had heard that that town was much straitened, and in greater danger of being lost than Rennes. He and his whole army, therefore, took their route to Vannes, under the command of the two marshals and sir Geoffry de Charny: the earl of Guines, son to the constable of France, had the rearward. They continued their march until they came pretty near to Vannes, on the opposite side to where the of England was quartered: they then halted, encamped

encamped in a fine meadow, and made a large ditch in their front.

The marshals, and sir Robert de Beaumanoir, marshal of Brittany, made frequent excursions: there were skirmishes on both sides, which occasioned the overthrow and death of many.

The king of England sent for the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Pembroke, and the rest who were besieging Rennes. The English, and the Bretons of the Montfort party, might amount to nearly two thousand five hundred men at arms, six thousand archers, and three thousand men on foot. The French were four times that number, well conditioned and well armed.

The king of England had taken such a position before Vannes, that the French could not attack him, but to their disadvantage; and since the arrival of the duke of Normandy, he had not made any assault upon the town, wishing to spare his men and his artillery.

Thus these two armies lay near each other for a long time. When the winter set in, pope Clement VI. sent thither the cardinal of Preneste and the cardinal of Clermont, who made frequent visits from one army to the other, to endeavour to reconcile them; but they would not consent to a peace.*

There

* The first of these prelates was Peter des Près, born in Quercy, chancellor of the church of Rome, and bishop of Fiescati: the other was Annibal de Cecano, bishop of Palestine. The conferences were held in the priory of the Magdalen,

There were frequent engagements between the foragers, and many killed on each side. The English were obliged to go out foraging in large parties, for fear of falling into ambuscades ; and every time they went abroad they were in great danger of them. Add to this, that the lord Lewis of Spain, and his fleet, guarded so carefully the coast, that the English army could scarcely receive any thing from England, which made them suffer much.

It was the intention of the duke to keep the king thus in a manner besieged ; but the French endured much pain from the inclemency of the weather, for it rained night and day, which destroyed the greater part of their horses, and forced them to dislodge and lie in the open fields, from the great quantity of water which inundated their camp.

The cardinals now exerted themselves so effectually, that a truce for three years was agreed to ; and the king of England and the duke swore, as is customary, not to infringe it during that time.

dalen, in the town of Malestroit. The commissioners on the part of France were, Eudes duke of Burgundy, and Peter duke of Bourbon ; on the part of England, Henry earl of Lancaster, William Bohun and William Montacute.—*Hist. de Bretagne.*

CHAP. XCVIII.

THE KING OF FRANCE ORDERS THE LORD OF CLISSON,
AND MANY OTHER LORDS OF BRITTANY AND
NORMANDY, TO BE BEHEADED.

THUS these great armies were separated, and the siege of Vannes raised. The duke of Normandy retired to Nantes, and took the two cardinals with him: the king of England went to the countess of Montfort at Hennebon. There was an exchange made of the lord of Clifton for the baron of Stafford.

When the king of England had been some time at Hennebon with the countess, and had arranged his affairs, he gave her in charge to the two brothers de Spinefort, sir William de Cadoudal and others, and set out with his knights for England, where he arrived about Christmas.*

The duke of Normandy returned into France, and, having disbanded his army, each went to his own home.

Soon afterwards, the lord of Clifton was arrested, upon suspicion of treason, and confined in the prison of the Châtelet in Paris: at which all who heard it were much surprised. The barons and knights of France asked each other what could be the reason, for they could not make out any thing satisfactory; but they imagined it might be occasioned by jealousy,

* Edward embarked about the end of February, and landed at Weymouth on a Sunday, 2d March, 1343.—RYMER.

because

because the king of England had preferred to exchange him for lord Stafford to sir Hervè de Lèon, who was still a prisoner : so that the favour the king of England had shewn to the lord of Clifton, in preference to sir Hervè, his enemies thought had been improperly gained, and grounded upon that the suspicion for which he lost his head at Paris, and which occasioned great grief, for no one could find a sufficient reason for it.*

Shortly afterwards, many other knights were accused of similar crimes. The lord of Malestroit and his son, the lord of Avaugour, sir Tibaut de Morillon, and other lords of Brittany, to the number of ten knights and squires, were beheaded at Paris.

Four other knights of Normandy, sir William Baron, sir Henry de Malestroit, the lord of Rocheston, and sir Richard de Perfy, were put to death upon reports, whether well founded or not I am ignorant, which caused afterwards great troubles in Brittany and Normandy.

* The lord Stafford was exchanged for Olivier de Clifton, and Godfrey de Harcourt. They entered into a treaty with Edward, and the earl of Salisbury was the person to whom it was intrusted. On the earl's return to England, on hearing from his countess Edward's conduct to her during his absence, he retired from the court secretly, and went to France, when he delivered up to Philip de Valois the engagements of Olivier de Clifton and the other knights. Olivier was beheaded, and his body hung on the gibbet at Monfaucon. Godfrey de Harcourt, being banished the kingdom, retired to England.—*Hist. de Bretagne*, vol. i. p. 268.

The lord of Clifton left behind him a son, named Olivier de Clifton after his father, who withdrew himself immediately to the castle of Montfort, with the countess and her son, who was nearly of the same age with himself, and without a father ; for in truth the earl of Montfort had died in the Louvre at Paris.*

CHAP. XCIX.

KING EDWARD INSTITUTES THE ORDER OF ST.
GEORGE, AT WINDSOR.

ABOUT this time, the king of England resolved to rebuild and embellish the great castle of Windsor, which king Arthur had first founded in time past, and where he had erected and established that noble round table from whence so many gallant knights had issued forth, and displayed the valiant prowess of their deeds at arms over the world.

King Edward, therefore, determined to establish an order of knighthood, consisting of himself, his children, and the most gallant knights in Christendom, to the number of forty.

He ordered it to be denominated 'knights of the blue garter,' and that the feast should be celebrated every year, at Windsor, upon St. George's day. He summoned, therefore, all the earls, barons and knights of his realm, to inform them of his intentions ; they heard it with great pleasure ;

* See a former note, p. 188, respecting his death.

for it appeared to them highly honourable, and capable of increasng love and friendship. Forty knights were then elected, according to report and estimation, the bravest in Christendom, who sealed, and swore to maintain and keep the feast and the statutes which had been made.

The king founded a chapel at Windsor, in honor of St. George, and established canons, there to serve God, with a handsome endowment. He then issued his proclamation for this feast, by his heralds, whom he sent to France, Scotland, Burgundy, Hainault, Flanders, Brabant, and the empire of Germany, and offered to all knights and squires, that might come to this ceremony, passports to last for fifteen days after it was over.*

The

* The number of knights of the garter were only twenty-six: underneath are the names of the first knights :

1. King Edward.
2. Edward prince of Wales.
3. Henry earl of Lancaster.
4. Thomas earl of Warwick.
5. Piers de Greilly, captal of Buch.
6. Ralph lord Stafford.
7. William earl of Salisbury..
8. Roger earl of March.
9. John lord Lisle.
10. Bartholomew lord Burgherft.
11. John lord Beauchamp.
12. John lord Mohun of Dunster.
13. Hugh lord Courtenay.
14. Thomas lord Holland.
15. John lord Gray of Codnore.
16. Sir Richard Fitzsimon.

17. Sir

The celebration of this order was fixed for St. George's day next ensuing, to be held at Windsor, 1344; and the queen was to be present, accompanied by three hundred ladies and damsels, all of high birth, and richly dressed in similar robes.*

CHAP C.

THE KING OF ENGLAND SETS AT LIBERTY SIR HERVE DE LEON.

WHILST the king of England was employed in making preparations for the reception of the lords and ladies whom he expected at this feast, news was brought him of the death of the lord of Clifton and the other knights. He was so much enraged at it, that he had determined to retaliate upon the body of sir Hervè de Lèon, who was his prisoner,

-
- 17. Sir Miles Stapleton.
 - 18. Sir Thomas Wale.
 - 19. Sir Hugh Wrottesley.
 - 20. Sir Nele Loring.
 - 21. Sir John Chandos.
 - 22. Lord James Audley.
 - 23. Sir Otho Holland.
 - 24. Sir Henry Eam of Brabant.
 - 25. Sir Sanchio d'Ambreticourt.
 - 26. Sir Walter Paveley.

* The first mention of robes for the queen, &c. is An. 7. Ric. 2.; but it is supposed the custom originated at the institution, —ASHMOLE.

For further particulars respecting the order of the garter, see Ashmole and Antis.

and

and would surely have executed it, if the earl of Derby, his cousin, had not remonstrated, and shewed in council such good reasons, as, for the sake of his own personal honour, induced him to refrain from this revenge. He added, ‘ My lord, if that king Philip has, through rashness, had the villany to put to death such valiant knights as these were, do not suffer your courage to be tainted by it; for in truth, if you will but consider a little, your prisoner has nothing to do with this outrage: have a goodness, therefore, to give him his liberty, at a reasonable ransom.’

The king ordered the captive knight to be brought before him, and said, ‘ Ha, sir Hervè, sir Hervè, my adversary, Philip de Valois, has shewn his treachery in too cruel a manner, when he put to death so many knights. It has given me much displeasure; and it appears as it were done in despite of us. If I were to take his conduct for my example, I ought to do the like to you; for you have done me more harm in Brittany than any other; but I shall endure it, and let him act according to his own will. I will preserve my own honour unspotted, and shall allow you your liberty at a trifling ransom, out of my love for the earl of Derby, who has requested it; but upon condition, that you perform what I am going to ask of you.’

The knight replied, ‘ Dear sir, I will do, to the best of my power, whatever you shall command.’

The king said, ‘ I know, sir Hervè, that you are one of the richest knights in Brittany; and, if I

were

were to press you, you would pay me thirty or forty thousand crowns for your ransom. But you will go to king Philip de Valois, my adversary, and tell him from me, that, by putting so many knights to death in so dishonourable a manner, he has sore displeased me: and I say and maintain, that he has, by this means, broken and infringed the truce which we had agreed to; and that, from this moment, I consider it as broken, and send him, by you, my defiance. In consideration of your carrying this message, I will let you off for ten thousand crowns, which you will pay, or send to Bruges, in five days after you shall have crossed the sea. You will also inform all such knights and squires as wish to attend my feast, for we shall be right glad to see them, not to desist on this account, for they shall have passports for their safe return, to last for fifteen days after it be over.'

'Sir,' answered the knight, 'I will perform your message to the best of my abilities; and God reward you, and my lord of Derby, for your kindness to me.'

Sir Hervé de Léon did not after this remain long in prison, but, having taken leave of the king, went to Southampton, and embarked on board a vessel, with the intention of landing at Harfleur. A violent storm, however, which lasted fifteen days, prevented it. He lost his horses, as well as those of his servants, which were thrown overboard; and he himself was so ill by it, that he never after enjoyed good health. At last the mariners, with

much danger, landed at Crotoy*; from whence sir Hervé and his suite went on foot to Abbeville, where they procured horses; but sir Hervé was so ill, he could not bear the motion of the horse: he was therefore put in a litter, and came to Paris, to king Philip, to whom he delivered his message, word for word; but he did not live long. He died in returning to his own country, in the city of Angers. God have mercy on his soul!

CHAP. CI.

THE KING OF ENGLAND SENDS THE EARL OF DERBY TO MAKE WAR IN GASCONY.

ST. George's day drew near, when the grand feast was to be celebrated at the castle of Windsor. The king had made great preparations for it; and there were earls, barons, ladies and damsels most nobly entertained. The festivities and tilts lasted a fortnight. Many knights came to them from beyond sea, from Flanders, Hainault, and Brabant, but not one from France.

During the holding of these feasts, the king received intelligence from different countries, particularly from Gascony. The lord de l'Esparre, the lord de Chaumont, the lord de Mucident, were sent thence by the other barons and knights, who

* Crotoy, a town in Picardy, situated at the mouth of the Somme, opposite to St. Valery.

at that time were dependent on the king of England ; such as the lord d'Albret, the lord de Pumiens, the lord de Montferrant, the lord of Duras, the lord of Craton, the lord of Grailley, and many others ; and some were likewise sent by the cities of Bourdeaux and Bayonne. These ambassadors were most courteously entertained and received by the king and his council ; to whom they explained the weakness of the country of Gascony, and that his good friends in that country and the loyal city of Bourdeaux wanted aid : they therefore intreated, that he would send thither such a captain and force of men at arms, as he might think able to make head against the French, who kept the field in opposition to all that were sent to meet them.

The king soon afterward appointed his cousin the earl of Derby leader of this expedition, and nominated those knights that he had fixed upon to be under him : first, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Oxford, the lord Stafford, sir Walter Manny, sir Frank van Halle, sir Henry Eam of Brabant, sir Richard Fitzsimon, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Stephen Tombey, sir Richard Haydon, sir John Norwich, sir Richard Radcliffe, sir Robert Oxendon, and several more. They were fully three hundred knights and squires, six hundred men at arms, and two thousand archers. The king advised the earl his cousin to take plenty of gold and silver with him, and to bestow it liberally among the knights and squires, in order to acquire their good opinion and affection.

The king also, during the time of these festivals, sent sir Thomas Dagworth into Brittany, to reinforce the countess of Montfort, and assist her in preserving that country; for, notwithstanding the truce, he doubted not but that king Philip would begin the war, on account of the message he had sent to him by sir Hervé de Léon. He therefore dispatched thither one hundred men at arms, and two hundred archers, under the command of sir Thomas.

He likewise ordered the earl of Salisbury into the county of D'ulneſtre; for the Scots had rebelled against him, had burnt much in Cornwall, and had advanced as far as Bristol, and besieged the town of D'ulneſtre*. However, the earl of Salisbury marched thither, with three hundred men at arms, and six hundred archers well appointed. Thus the king sent forth his people, and directed his treasurers to deliver out to the commanding officers a

* This passage has puzzled me much. Mr. Barnes, in his Life of Edward III., says, it was the *young* earl of Salisbury. One of my MSS. calls him the lord William earl of Salisbury, which was the name of the earl's son. But Dugdale contents himself with saying, that in the 18th of Edward III., 'the earl of Salisbury' (speaking of the first earl) 'was sent into the north, with the earl of Ulster, one hundred men at arms, and six hundred archers, against the Scots, then in hostility.'

If the Scots had advanced to Bristol, then it may perhaps be Dunſter caſtle.

Froiffart seems to have been under a mistake, from misinformation, as I cannot find any traces of this invasion.

sufficiency

sufficiency of money for their own expenses, and to pay their fellow-soldiers; and each set out, according to the orders he had received.

We will speak first of the earl of Derby, as he had the greatest charge, which he conducted to Southampton, and, embarking on board the fleet stationed there for him, made sail for Bayonne: it was a handsome city, and had always held out for the English. He arrived there without accident, on the 6th day of June 1344, when he disembarked and landed all his stores: they were joyfully received by the inhabitants, and he remained there seven days, to refresh himself and his horses.

The earl of Derby and his army left Bayonne the eighth day after his arrival, and set out for Bourdeaux, where a grand procession came out to receive him. The earl was lodged in the abbey of St. Andrew, and his people within the city.

When the count de Lisle was informed of the arrival of the English, he sent for the count de Comminges, the count de Perigord, the count de Carmain, the viscount de Villemur, the count Duras, the count de Valentinois, the count de Mirande, the lord of Mirade, the lord de la Barde, the lord of Pincornet, the viscount de Châtillon, the lord of Chateauneuf, the lord de Lescun, the abbot of St. Savin, and for all the other lords who were attached to the king of France.

As soon as they were all assembled, he demanded their counsel on the arrival of the earl of Derby. The lords, in reply, said, they were sufficiently strong to defend the passage of the river Dordogne.

at Bergerac, against the English. This answer mightily pleased the count de Lisle, who was at that time like a king in Gascony, and had been so since the commencement of the wars between the two kings. He had taken the field, captured towns and castles, and waged war upon all who were of the English party.

These lords sent immediately to assemble their dependents on all sides, and advanced to Bergerac, where they entered the suburbs, which are large, strong, and partly surrounded by the Dordogne. They had all their purveyances brought to them there in safety.

CHAP. CII.

THE EARL OF DERBY CONQUERS BERGERAC*.

WHEN the earl of Derby had remained at Bourdeaux for about fifteen days, he was informed that the barons and knights of Gascony were in Bergerac: he therefore, one morning, marched that way with his army, and ordered his marshals, sir Walter Manny and sir Frank van Halle, to push forward. The English marched that morning no more than three leagues, to a castle called Montcroullier, which belonged to them, and was situated a short league from Bergerac.

At this castle of Montcroullier, they tarried that day and night. The day following, their scouts

* A populous town in Perigord, diocese of Perigueux.

were sent as far as the barriers of Bergerac; and, on their return, they related to sir Walter Manny, that they had reconnoitred the position of the French, which did not appear to them any thing very formidable. This day, the English dined early; and, during the repast, sir Walter Manny, addressing himself to the earl of Derby, said, ‘My lord, if we were good knights, and well armed, we might, this evening, partake of the wines of these French lords who are in garrison in Bergerac.’ The earl answered, ‘that it should not be his fault if they did not.’ When their companions heard this, they said, ‘Let us hasten to arm ourselves; for we will ride towards Bergerac.’ It was no sooner said than done: they were all armed, and mounted, in an instant.

When the earl of Derby perceived such willingness in his men, he was exceedingly joyful, and cried out, ‘In the name of God, and of St. George, let us march to our enemies.’

They then rode on, with banners displayed, during the greatest heat of the day, until they came to the barriers of Bergerac: which was not a place easily to be taken, for a part of the river Dordogne surrounded it.

The French lords who were in the town, seeing the English coming to attack them, said they should be well received, and sallied forth in battle array: they had with them a multitude of foot soldiers, and country people badly armed. The English made their approaches in close order, so that they were plainly to be distinguished by the townsmen,

and the archers began to shoot thickly. When the foot foldiers felt the points of the arrows, and saw the banners and pennons glittering in the air, which they had not been accustomed to see, they fell back upon their own men at arms: the archers continued to shoot with great quickness, doing much mischief to them.

The lords of England then advanced, mounted on their excellent couriers, with lances in their rests, and, dashing into the midst of this infantry, drove them down at pleasure, and killed and wounded the French men at arms in abundance; for they could not in any way exert themselves, as these runaways had blocked up the road.

There was a severe engagement, and many were killed and unhorsed: for the English archers, being posted on each side of the road, shot so well together, that no one dared to venture upon it. Thus were those of Bergerac driven back again to the suburbs, but with so much loss, that the first bridge and bars were taken by storm, and the English entered with them. Upon the pavement, were many knights and squires slain and wounded, and many prisoners made, of those who came forward to defend the passage. The lord of Mirepoix was slain, under the banner of sir Walter Manny, who was the first that entered these suburbs.

When the count de Lisle saw that the English had got possession of the suburbs, and were knocking down and killing his people without mercy, he and the other lords of Gascony made a handsome retreat towards the town, and passed the bridge with

with great difficulty. At this place, the engagement was very severe, and lasted a considerable time: the noblemen of France and of England, named in the preceding chapters, combated most valiantly hand to hand: neither knight nor bachelor could there conceal himself.

Sir Walter Manny had advanced so far among his enemies, that he was in great danger. The English made prisoners of the viscount de Bouffquetin, the lords of Châtillon, of Chateauneuf, and of Lescun. The French retreated into the fort, let down the portcullis, and, getting upon the battlements, began to throw stones and other things, to drive their enemies away.

This assault and skirmish lasted until vespers, when the English retreated, quite weary, into the suburbs, which they had won; where they found such quantities of provision and wine, that might, on occasion, have lasted them for four months most plentifully.

When the morrow dawned, the earl of Derby had his trumpets sounded, and his forces drawn out in battle array, to approach the town, and make a mighty assault, which lasted until noon. They had not much success; for they found that there were within it men at arms who defended themselves valiantly. At noontide, the English retreated, perceiving that they only lost their time.

The lords then assembled in council, and determined to attack the town on the side next the river; for it was there only fortified by palisades. The earl of Derby sent therefore to the fleet at Bourdeaux

deaux for vessels, which he ordered to come to him up the Dordogne: there were upwards of sixty barks and other vessels lying at Bourdeaux, that came to Bergerac.

In the evening of the following day, the English made their arrangements, and at sun-rise, all those who were ordered to attack the town, and the fleet, were quite ready, under the command of the lord Stafford. There were many knights and squires who had requested to be on this expedition, in hopes of preferment, as well as a body of archers.

They advanced in haste, and came to some large round piles placed before the palisades, which they flung down. The townsmen, seeing this, went to the count de Lisle, the lords, knights and squires who were present, and said to them, ‘Gentlemen, we pray you to take heed what you are about; for we run a great risk of being ruined. If the town be taken, we shall lose all we have, as well as our lives: it will therefore be much better that we surrender it to the earl of Derby, before we suffer more damage.’ The count replied, ‘We will go to that part where you say the danger is; for we will not consent to surrender it so easily.’ The Gascon knights and squires came, therefore, to defend the palisades; but the archers, who were in the barks, kept up so quick an attack with their arrows, that none dared to shew themselves, unless they chose to run the risk of being killed or wounded.

In the town, there were with the Gascons two or three hundred Genoese cross-bowmen, whose ar-
mour

mour shielded them from the arrows: they kept the archers well employed all the day, and many on each side were wounded. At last, the English who were in the vessels exerted themselves so much, that they broke down a large piece of the palisades; those of Bergerac then retreated, and requested time to consider, if they should not surrender the place. The remainder of that day and night was granted them, upon condition that they did not attempt to repair the breaches: and every one retired to his quarters.

The lords of Gascony held, that night, a long council; and, about midnight, having packed up all their baggage, they set out from Bergerac, and followed the road to la Rèole,* which is not far distant, whose gates were opened to them, and there they took up their quarters.

The English, on the morrow morning, re-embarked on board their fleet, and came to the part where the palisades had been broken down: they found in that place great numbers of the townsmen, who intreated the knights, that they would beseech the earl of Derby to have mercy on them, and allow them their lives and fortunes, and from thenceforward they would yield obedience to the king of England.

The earl of Pembroke and the earl of Oxford replied, they would cheerfully comply with their request, and went to the earl of Derby who was not present, and related to him what the inhabitants

* Rèole,—a town of the Bazadois, on the Garonne.

of Bergerac had desired of them. The earl of Derby answered, ‘ He who begs for mercy should have mercy shewn him: tell them to open their gates, and let us enter, when we will assure them of safety from us and from our people.’ The two lords returned, and reported what the earl had said. Upon which, the townsmen went to the market-place, where every one, men and women being assembled, they rang the bells, threw open the gates, went out in procession to meet the earl of Derby, and, with all humility, conducted him to the church where they swore homage and fealty to him, acknowledging him as their lord, for the king of England, by virtue of a procuration which he had with him.

CHAP. CIII.

THE EARL OF DERBY CONQUERS MANY TOWNS AND FORTRESSES IN UPPER GASCONY.

THE same day that the count de Lisle, the barons and knights of Gascony had retreated to la Rèole, they held a counsel, and resolved to separate and withdraw into fortresses, to carry on the war from these garrisons, and to form a body of four or five hundred combatants, by way of frontier guard, under the command of the seneschal of Toulouse. The count de Villemur was ordered to Auberoche;* sir Bertrand des Pres to Pellegrue;† the lord Philip

* In Perigord, diocese of Perigueux.

† A small town of Condomois, in the diocese of Condom.

de Dyon to Montagret;* the lord of Montbrandon to Mauduran; sir Arnold de Dyon to Montgis; Robert de Malmore to Beaumont, in Laillois; sir Charles de Poitiers to Pennes in the Agenois. All these knights departed for their different garrisons; but the count de Lisle remained in la Rèole, and had the fortrefs put in proper repair.

When the earl of Derby had taken possession of Bergerac, and staid there two days, he asked the seneschal of Bourdeaux, what was most advisable for him next to undertake, as he wished not to remain idle. The seneschal replied, that he thought it would be best to go towards Perigord and upper Gascony. The earl of Derby then gave out his orders to march to Perigord, and left sir John de la Santè† captain of Bergerac. As the English advanced, they came to a castle called Langon,‡ of which the provost of Toulouse was governor: they halted there, not thinking it prudent to leave such a post in their rear, and the marshal's battalion immediately began the assault, which lasted all that day, but they gained nothing. Almost the whole army was employed against it the next day; and, with wood and faggots, they filled up the ditches, so that they could approach the walls.

* A town in Perigord, diocese of Perigueux.

† In one MS. it is Souce: in Barnes' history of Edward III., sir John St. John; but he does not mention his authority for so altering it. In my printed copies, and another MS. it is Santé, and is so in lord Berner's translation.

‡ Langon,—a town in Bazadois, upon the Garonne, about six leagues from Bourdeaux.

Sir Frank van Halle asked the besieged if they were willing to surrender, because they might delay it until it was too late. Upon this, they demanded a truce to consider of it, which being granted them, after some little time spent in counsel, they all set out for Monfac,* in the French interest, but took nothing with them. The earl of Derby appointed a squire, called Aynon Lyon, governor of the castle of Langon,† and gave him thirty archers.

The earl of Derby then rode on towards a town called Le Lac ; but the townsmen came out to meet him, brought him the keys of the town, and swore homage and fealty to him. The earl passed on, and came to Mandarant, which he took by storm : after he had placed a garrison in the fortrefs, he came before the castle of Montgis, won it in the same manner, and sent the governor prisoner to Bourdeaux. He afterwards advanced to Punach, which he took, and did the same to the town and castle of Lieux,‡ where he staid three days, to refresh himself and army. On the fourth day, he marched to Forfath,§ which he gained easily enough, and then the town of Poudaire. He next came to a town of considerable size, called Beaumont en Laillois, which was a dependency on the count de Lisle. The earl was three days before it, and many vigorous attacks were made ; for it was

* A town in Perigord, diocese of Sarlat.

† Barnes calls him an *English squire*, *Timothy Lyon* ; but I see no authority for it.

‡ In Gascony, diocese of Comminges.

§ fac,—upon the Dordogne, six leagues from Bourdeaux.

well provided with men at arms and artillery, who defended themselves as long as they were able : at last it was taken, with much slaughter on all those that were found in it.

The earl of Derby recruited his forces there with fresh men at arms, and then advanced towards the principal town of the inheritance of the count de Lisle, which was under the command of the lord Philip de Dyon and the lord Arnold de Dyon. He invested it on all sides, and made his archers advance to the barriers, where they shot so well that none durst appear to defend them: the English, having won the barriers, and every thing even to the gate, retired in the evening. On the next morning, they renewed the attack in different places at once, and gave those within so much to do, that they did not know which way to defend themselves.

The inhabitants therefore requested two knights who were there, to treat with the earl of Derby for a peace, that their fortunes might be saved. They sent before them an herald, who obtained a short truce, to see if any agreement could be entered into. The earl of Derby ordered his men to retire, and came himself, accompanied by the lord Stafford and sir Walter Manny to the bars, to confer with the inhabitants. The earl, at first, would hear of nothing but unconditional submission : at last it was settled, that the town should put itself under the dependency of the king of England, as duke of Guienne, and that twelve of the principal citizens should be sent to Bourdeaux, as hostages. The French knights and squires left the place with passports, and went to la Rèole.

CHAP.

CHAP. CIV.

THE EARL OF OXFORD IS TAKEN PRISONER IN GASCONY, BUT SET AT LIBERTY BY EXCHANGE.

AFTER this conquest, and that the earl of Derby had left there men at arms and archers, he came before Bonneval,* and made a violent attack upon it, in which many were killed and wounded. At last he took it, and shewed mercy. After he had reinforced it with men at arms, and another governor, he pushed forward, and, entering the county of Perigord, passed by Bordelles,† but did not attack it, as he saw it would be only pains thrown away.

He still advanced, until he came before Perigueux.‡ There was in the town the earl of Perigord, the lord Roger de Perigord his brother, the lord of Duras, and fully sixscore knights and squires of that country.

When the earl of Derby came there, he considered in what manner he might attack it most advantageously, for he saw it was very strong. But, after having maturely weighed it, he thought it most prudent not to waste his time: he therefore retreated two leagues, and took up his quarters upon the banks of a river, in order to attack the castle of Pelagrue.§

* A village in the diocese of Agen.

† A village in Bazadois, election of Condom.

‡ Capital of Perigord.

§ A town in the Condomois.

Towards midnight, about two hundred lances, well mounted, sallied out of Perigueux : they rode so fast, that before day-light they came to the English camp, and falling upon it, killed and wounded many. They entered the tent of the earl of Oxford, whom they found arming himself: he was immediately attacked, and taken prisoner, as well as three knights of his household, otherwise he would have been slain. The Gascons finding they had awakened the whole army, retired, and took their road to Perigueux.

It was time for them to do so : and fortunately they found the gates of the barriers open ; for they were so closely pursued, that they were thrown into confusion : but the Gascons, as soon as they could rally themselves, dismounted, and, sword in hand, fought with the English, and maintained their ground so well, that they lost nothing.

The English returned to the earl of Derby, who marched forward until he came before Pelagruë, where he remained six days, and many an assault was made upon it. During the time he continued there, the earl of Oxford and his companions were exchanged, for the viscount de Boufquetin, the viscount de Châtillon, the lord of Lescun, the lord of Chateauneuf ; and upon condition that the lands of Perigord should remain in peace for three years : not, however, but that any knight or squire might take up arms, without forfeiting the treaty ; but nothing was to be burnt or pillaged in that country for that space of time. The English, therefore, departed from before Pelagruë, as it was part of Perigord,

gord, and ~~made~~ towards Auberoche,† where there is a handsome and strong castle, appertaining to the archbishop of Toulouse.

The English took up their quarters round about it, as if they meant to remain there for a length of time, and sent word to those within, that if they did not surrender speedily, when the town was taken, they should be all put to the sword without mercy. The inhabitants of the town and castle were much alarmed; and, seeing no appearance of any succour coming to them, they put themselves under the obedience of the earl of Derby, upon condition that their lives and fortunes were spared, and acknowledged him as their lord, for the king of England.

The earl then made a handsome retreat towards Bourdeaux, having left in Auberoche a sufficient garrison, under the command of sir Frank van Halle, sir Alain de Finefroide, and sir John Lendal.

On his road he came to Libourne, a fair and large town, twelve leagues from Bourdeaux; to which he laid siege, and told those about him, that he would not quit it before he had got possession of it. The inhabitants consulted together; and considering well the good and evil of being assaulted and vexed, they surrendered themselves to the earl of Derby, and did homage to him during the three days he remained there.

The earl of Derby sent the earl of Pembroke to Bergerac, and left the lord Stafford, sir Steven de

* A town in Perigord.

Courcy, and the lord Alexander de Haulfiel,* with their men, in Libourne. He himself, accompanied by the earl of Oxford and sir Walter Manny, took the road for Bourdeaux, where they arrived.

CHAP. CV.

THE COUNT DE LISLE, LIEUTENANT FOR THE KING OF FRANCE IN GASCONY, LAYS SIEGE TO THE CASTLE OF AUBEROCHE.

THE earl was joyfully received on his return to Bourdeaux: the clergy and inhabitants of the town came out to meet him, in a grand procession: they allowed him to take provisions, and whatever else he desired, according to his will and pleasure; and he and his army continued in the town, amusing themselves with the citizens and their wives.

We will now return to the count de Lisle, whom we left in la Rèole: as soon as he was informed that the earl of Derby had returned to Bourdeaux, and had taken up his residence there; he did not think it probable he would undertake any more expeditions this season. He sent letters, therefore, to the earls of Perigord, of Carmain, of Comminges, of Bruni-guel, and to all the barons of Gascony that were in the French interest, to desire that they would collect as many people as they could, and come with them properly armed, by an appointed day, to meet him at Auberoche, as he intended to besiege it.

* Barnes makes him sir Alexander Hufsey.

They all obeyed his summons; for he was as a king in these parts of Gascony.

The knights who were in Auberoche were not aware of this, until they found themselves so closely besieged on all sides that no one could go out of the garrison without being seen.

The French brought from Toulouse four large machines, which cast stones into the fortress night and day; and they made no other assault; so that in six days time they had demolished all the roofs of the towers, and none within the castle dared to venture out of the vaulted rooms on the ground floor. It was the intention of the army to kill all within the castle, if they would not surrender themselves unconditionally.

News was brought to the earl of Derby, that Auberoche was besieged; but he did not imagine his friends were so hard pushed. When sir Frank van Halle, sir Alain de Finefroide, and sir John Lendal, who were thus besieged, saw how desperate their situation was, they asked their servants, if there were not one among them who would, for a reward, undertake to deliver the letters they had written to the earl of Derby at Bourdeaux? One from among them stepped forward, and said, He would be the man, who would cheerfully undertake the commission, not through lust of gain, but from his desire to deliver them from the peril they were in. The following night the servant took the letters, sealed with their seals, and sewed them up in his clothes. He was let down into the ditches: when ~~when~~ was at the bottom, he climbed up the opposite side,

side, and took his road through the army; for he could not avoid passing through it. He was met by the first guard, but was not stopped, for he understood the Gascon language well, and named one of the lords of the army, as if belonging to him; so he was suffered to pass on: but he was afterward arrested, and detained under the tents of some other lords who brought him to the main watch. He was interrogated, searched, and the letters found upon him, and guarded until morning, when the principals of the army assembled in the tent of the count de Lisle, where the letters were read. They were rejoiced to find that the garrison was so much straitened, that they could not hold out longer; and, seizing the servant, they hung the letters round his neck, thrust him into one of the machines, and flung him into Auberoche. The valet fell quite dead amidst the other valets of the castle, who were much terrified at it.

About this time, the earl of Perigord, his uncle sir Charles de Poitiers, the earl of Carmain and the lord of Duras, mounting their horses, rode as near to the walls of the castle as they could, and, calling out to those within by way of derision, said, ‘Gentlemen, inquire of your messenger where he found the earl of Derby, and whether he is prepared to assist you, since your man was so eager to quit your fortrefs, and has returned as quickly.’ Sir Frank van Halle replied, ‘By my faith, gentlemen, if we be so closely confined in this place, we will sally forth whenever it shall please God and the earl of Derby. I wish to Heaven he were acquainted with
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our

our situation; for if he were, the proudest of you all would be afraid of standing your ground; and, if you will send any one to give him this information, one of us will surrender himself to you, to be ransomed as becomes a gentleman.' The French answered, 'Nay, nay, matters must not turn out so: the earl of Derby, in proper time, shall be made acquainted with it; but not until our engines have battered your walls level with the ground, and you shall have surrendered yourselves to save your lives.'

'That, for certain, will never happen,' said Sir Frank van Halle; 'for we will not surrender ourselves, should we all die upon the walls.' The French lords then rode on, and returned to their army. The three English knights remained in Auberoche, quite confounded by the force of these engines, which flung such quantities of stones, that in truth it seemed as if the thunder from heaven were battering the walls of the castle.

CHAP. CVI.

THE EARL OF DERBY MAKES THE COUNT OF LISLE AND NINE MORE COUNTS AND VISCOUNTS PRISONERS, BEFORE AUBEROCHE.

ALL these speeches, the treatment of the messenger, the contents of the letters, and the perilous situation of Auberoche, were known to the earl of Derby, by means of a spy he had in the French army. The earl, therefore, sent orders to the

the earl of Pembroke in Bergerac, to meet him at an appointed place and hour; and also to the lord Stafford and sir Stephen Tombey, who were at Libourne. The earl of Derby then, accompanied by sir Walter Manny and the forces he had with him, took the road towards Auberoche as secretly as possible; for he had guides who were acquainted with all the bye-roads. They came to Libourne, where they staid a whole day for the earl of Pembroke; but hearing no tidings of him, and being impatient to succour their friends who were so distressed, the earl of Derby, the earl of Oxford, sir Walter Manny, sir Richard Hastings, sir Stephen Tombey, the lord Ferrers, and other knights, set out for Libourne: riding all night, they came on the morrow within two leagues of Auberoche. They entered a wood, when, alighting from their horses, they tied them to the trees, and allowed them to pasture, in expectation of the arrival of the earl of Pembroke: they waited all that morning, and until noon, in vain, not knowing what to do; for they were but three hundred lances and six hundred archers, and the French were from ten to twelve thousand men. They thought it would be cowardice to suffer their friends to be lost, when they were so near them. At last, sir Walter Manny said, 'Gentlemen, let us who are now here mount our horses, skirt this wood, and advance until we come to their camp: when we shall be close to it, we will stick spurs into our horses, and, with loud shouts, fall upon them. It will be about their hour for supper; and we shall see them so much discom-
F 4
fited,

fited, that they can never rally again.' The knights present replied, that they would all do as he had proposed. Each went to his horse, re-girthed him, and tightened his armour: they ordered their pages, servants and baggage to remain where they were.

They advanced in silence, by the side of the wood, until they came to the other end, where the French army was encamped in a wide valley, near a small river: they then displayed their banners and pennons, and sticking spurs into their horses, dashed into the midst of the French and Gascon forces, who were quite confounded and unprepared for this attack, as they were busy about their suppers, many having set down to table.

The English were well prepared to act, and crying, 'Derby, Derby for ever!' they cut down tents and pavilions, and slew and wounded all that came in their way. The French did not know where to turn, so much were they surprised; and when they got into the plains, if there were any large body of them, the archers and cross bowmen made such good use of their weapons, that they were slain or dispersed.

The count de Lisle was taken, in his tent, badly wounded; the earl of Perigord in his pavilion, and also sir Charles his uncle: the lord of Duras was killed, and so was sir Aymery de Poitiers; but his brother, the earl of Valentinois, was made prisoner. Every one took to his heels as fast as he could; but the earl of Comminges, the earls of Carmain, Villemur and Bruniguel, the lords de la Barde and
de

de la Taride, with others, who were quartered on the opposite side of the castle, displayed their banners, and, having drawn up their men, marched for the plain. The English, however, who had already defeated the largest body of the army, fell upon them most vigorously. In this engagement, many gallant deeds of arms were performed, many captures made, and many rescues.

As soon as sir Frank van Halle and sir John Lendal, who were in Auberöche, heard the noise, and perceived the banners and pennons of their friends, they hastened to arm themselves, and all those that were with them; when, mounting their horses, they sallied out of the fortrefs, made for the plain, and dashed into the thickest of the combat, to the great encouragement of the English.

Why should I make a long story of it? All those who were of the count de Lisle's party were discomfited, and almost all taken prisoners, or slain. Scarcely any would have escaped, if night had not closed so soon. Nine earls and viscounts were made prisoners, and so many barons, knights and squires, that there was not a man at arms among the English, that had not for his share two or three. This battle before Auberöche was fought on the eve of St. Laurence's day, in the year 1344.

The English treated their prisoners like friends: they received many upon their promises to surrender themselves by a certain day at Bourdeaux, or Bergerac. The English retired into Auberöche, the earl of Derby entertained at supper the part of the prisoners, earls, viscounts,

knights. They gave thanks and praises to God, for having enabled them to overcome upwards of ten thousand men, when they themselves were not more than one thousand, including every one, and to rescue the town and castle of Auberoche, in which were their friends, that must have been captured in two days time.

On the next morning, a little after sun-rise, the earl of Pembroke arrived with three hundred lances and four thousand archers; he had been informed of the event of the battle as they came along, and said to the earl of Derby, 'Certainly, cousin, you have neither been courteous, nor behaved honourably, to fight my enemies without waiting for me, seeing that you had sent for me; and you might have been assured, that nothing should have prevented my coming to you.' The earl replied, 'Fair cousin, we were very anxious for your arrival, and we waited for you from the morning until vespers: when we saw no appearance of your coming, we dared not wait longer; for had our enemies been informed of our arrival, they would have had the advantage over us; but now, thanks to God, we have conquered them, and we pray of you to help us in conducting them to Bourdeaux.'

They remained that day and night in Auberoche: on the next day early, they were armed and mounted, and set off, leaving there a Gascon knight, in their interest, as governor, named the lord Alexander of Chaumont. They took the road to Bourdeaux, and carried with them the greater part of their prisoners.

CHAP. CVII.

THE EARL OF DERBY TAKES DIFFERENT TOWNS IN GASCONY, IN HIS ROAD TOWARDS LA RÉOLE.

THE earl of Derby and his army, upon their arrival at Bourdeaux, were received with very great rejoicings: the inhabitants though they never could enough testify their joy to the earl, and to sir Walter Manny, for their enterprize; in which the count de Lisle, and more than two hundred knights were made prisoners.

The winter passed over, without any action taking place in Gascony that is worthy of being recorded.

Easter, which may be reckoned the beginning of the year 1345, was about the middle of May, and the earl of Derby, who had tarried all the winter in Bourdeaux, collected a very large body of men at arms and archers, and declared he would make an expedition to la Réole, where the French had fixed their head-quarters.

He went, the first day, from Bourdeaux to Bergerac, where he found the earl of Pembroke, ready with his troops. These two noblemen, with their forces, remained for three days in Bergerac, and on the fourth departed. When they were got into the open country, they halted their men, counted them, and found that they had about a thousand men at arms, and two thousand archers.

They pushed forward, until they came to a castle called St. Basile, to which they laid siege. Those within,

within, considering that the principal barons of Gascony were prisoners, and that they had no expectations of receiving succours from any place, resolved to swear fealty to king Edward of England.

The earl of Derby continued his route, and took the road towards Aiguillon* ; but, before he arrived there, he came to the castle of Roche-milon, which was well provided with soldiers and artillery; nevertheless, the earl ordered it to be vigorously assaulted.

As the English advanced to the attack, those within threw down upon them stones, bars of iron, and pots full of hot lime; by which many were slain and wounded, who adventured themselves too rashly.

When the earl of Derby perceived that his men were labouring in vain, and getting themselves killed, without any advantage, he founded a retreat: on the morrow, he ordered the peasants to bring great quantities of brushwood, faggots, straw, and turf, and to throw them all into the ditches of the castle, and plenty of earth with them. When a part of the ditch was so filled that one might get to the foot of the walls, he assembled three hundred archers, well armed, and in battle array, and sent before them two hundred countrymen covered with shields, having large pick-axes and hooks: whilst these first were employed in picking the walls, the archers made such good use of their bows, that

* A town of Guienne, situated at the confluence of the Lot and Garonne.

no one dared to shew himself on the battlements. This lasted the greatest part of the day, when the pick-axe men made so large a breach in the walls, that ten men might enter a-breast. The inhabitants of the town and castle were quite confounded; some fled towards the church, and others, by a back-way, out of the town. The fortress was immediately taken and pillaged; and all the garrison were put to death, excepting such as had taken refuge in the church, whom the earl of Derby pardoned, for they had submitted to his mercy.

The earl placed in the castle a fresh garrison, under the command of two English captains, Richard Willes and Robert Scot; and then he came before Monsegur*, where he ordered his men to prepare huts for themselves and horses: he continued before it fifteen days.

The governor of the town was sir Hugh de Bastefol, and there never passed a day without some assault being made upon it. They sent for large machines from Bourdeaux and Bergerac; and the stones which they cast into the town, destroyed roofs, tiles, and the principal buildings.

The earl of Derby sent every day, to let them know, that if they suffered the town to be stormed, every one would be put to the sword; but, if they would render obedience to the king of England, he would pardon them, and treat them like friends.

The townsmen would cheerfully have surrendered; and they went to the governor, to consult him,

* A town of Bazadois, election of Condom, near to la Réole.

and to found his intentions, who answered them by ordering them to the battlements, for that he had provision of every fort in sufficiency to hold out for half a year, if it were necessary. They left him in apparent good humour; but, about the time of vespers, they seized him, and closely confined him; assuring him, at the same time, he should never be set at liberty, if he did not assist them to make some terms with the earl of Derby. When he had sworn that he would do every thing in his power, they let him go: he went directly to the barriers of the town, and made signs that he wished to speak with the earl of Derby. Sir Walter Manny, being present, came to the governor, who said to him, ‘ Sir Walter Manny, you ought not to be surpris’d if we shut our gates against you, for we have sworn fealty to the king of France; but not perceiving any one coming from him to stop your career, and believing that you will still proceed further: for these reasons, in behalf of myself and the inhabitants of this town, we wish you would allow us these terms, namely, that no hostilities be carried on against us for the space of one month; and if in that time the king of France, or the duke of Normandy, come into this country in such force as to give you battle, we then shall hold ourselves free from our engagement; but if neither of them come, we will then enter under the obedience of the king of England.’

Sir Walter Manny went to relate this proposal to the earl of Derby, who acceded to it, upon condition that there should not in the mean time be any repairs

repairs made to the fortifications of the town, and that, if any of the English army should want provisions, they might be at liberty to purchase them. Upon this, there were sent twelve of the principal citizens as hostages, who were ordered to Bourdeaux. The English refreshed themselves with provisions from the town, but none were suffered to enter it.

They then continued their march, burning and destroying all the country as far as Aiguillon: the governor of which place came out to meet the earl, and surrendered the town and castle to him, on condition of their lives and fortunes being spared, to the great astonishment of all the country, for it was one of the strongest castles in the world, and almost impregnable.

When the squire, who had thus surrendered Aiguillon, came to Toulouse, which is seventeen leagues distant, the townsmen arrested him, on suspicion of treason, and hung him. This castle is situated on the point between two navigable rivers. The earl ordered it to be re-victualled, and the fortifications repaired, in order to its being fit to receive him on his return, and that it might serve for a secure guard to his other possessions. He gave the command of it to sir John de Gombry*. He then came to a castle called Segart, which he took

* Barnes says, to the lord John Moubray; but I do not see upon what grounds. I should rather imagine it was *John de Montgomerie*, who was captain of Calais in the 21st of Edward III., and had other charges of trust.

by storm, and put all the foreign foldiers he found in it to death; from thence he came to the town of la Réole.

CHAP. CVIII.

THE EARL OF DERBY LAYS SIEGE TO LA RÉOLE,
WHICH SURRENDERS TO HIM.

WHEN the earl of Derby was arrived at la Réole, he encompassed ~~it~~ closely all round, erecting towers in the plains, and near to every road, that no provision of any kind could enter it. He caused it to be assaulted almost every day. This siege took up much of the summer; ~~and~~ when the time had expired which those of Monsegur had fixed for surrendering themselves, the earl of Derby sent thither, and the inhabitants of the town became liege men to the earl, who, in all these cases, was the representative of the king of England. Even sir Hugh de Bastefol served under the earl, with the men of Monsegur, for a certain salary, which he received from the said earl, for himself and his fellow-foldiers.

The English, who were besieging la Réole, had lain before it more than nine weeks, ~~and~~ had constructed two large towers of great beams of wood, three stories high: each tower was placed on wheels, and covered over with prepared leather, to shelter those within from fire and from the arrows: in each story were one hundred archers. These two towers, by dint of men's force, were pushed close to

to

to the walls of the town; for, during the time they were building, they had filled up the ditches, so that these towers could easily pass over them. Those that were in them began immediately to shoot so well and quick, that none dared to appear upon the battlements unless he were well armed, or had a shield. Between these two towers were posted two hundred men with pick-axes and bars, to make a breach in the walls; which they did, and cast away the stones. The inhabitants, seeing this, came upon the walls, and inquired for some of the chiefs of the army, to speak to them. The earl of Derby, being informed of it, sent thither sir Walter Manny and the lord Stafford, who found the townsmen willing to surrender the town, on condition of their lives and fortunes being spared.

When the governor, sir Agos de Bans, a Provençal, found that the inhabitants wanted to surrender the town, he retired into the castle of la Rèole, with his fellow-foldiers; and, whilst this treaty was going on, he had conveyed into it great quantities of wine and other provision. He then ordered the gates to be fastened, and said, he would never surrender in so shameful a manner.

The two knights returned to the earl of Derby, and related to him that the townsmen were desirous of surrendering upon the terms above named: the earl sent them back, to know what the governor's intentions were respecting the castle. They returned with the answer, that he had shut himself up in the castle, and would not yield it. After a little consideration, the earl said, 'Well, well, let

us have compassion on the inhabitants: by means of the town, we shall soon gain the castle.'

The knights again went to the townsmen, and received their submissions. They all came out to the plain, and presenting the keys of the town to the earl, said, 'Dear sir, from this day forward, we acknowledge ourselves as your loyal subjects, and place ourselves, in every respect, under the obedience of the king of England.'

They swore by their heads, that they would no, in any manner, assist or succour those in the castle, but, on the contrary, distress them all in their power.

The earl forbade, under pain of death, that any hurt should be done towards the inhabitants of la Rèole. He then entered it with his army, and surrounding the castle, erected all his machines against it; but they did little mischief, for the castle was very high, and built of a hard stone. It was erected a long time since by the Saracens, who laid the foundations so strong, and with such curious workmanship, that the buildings of our time cannot be compared to it. When the earl found that his machines had no effect, he commanded them to desist; and, as he was not without miners in his army, he ordered them to undermine the ditches of the castle, so that they might pass under. This was not, however, soon done.

CHAP. CIX.

SIR WALTER MANNY FINDS, IN LA REOLE, THE SEPULCHRE OF HIS FATHER.

WHILST they were laying before this castle, and miners only could be employed, sir Walter Manny was reminded of his father, who formerly had been murdered in his journey from St. James of Compostella; and he had heard in his infancy, that he had been buried in la Rèole, or in that neighbourhood.

He therefore made inquiries in the town, if there were no one who could inform him of the truth of this matter, and offered a hundred crowns to whoever would conduct him to the spot.

This brought forward an old man, who said to sir Walter Manny, ‘Certainly, sir, I think I can lead you to the place where your father was buried, or very near to it.’ Sir Walter replied, ‘If you prove your words true, I will stick to my bargain, and even go beyond it.’

To explain this matter more clearly, you must know that there was formerly a bishop of Cambray, a Gascon, and of the families of Buc and Mirepoix; and, during the time of his holding that see, a magnificent tournament was held at Cambray, where there were upwards of five hundred knights. A knight from Gascony tilted with the lord of Manny, the father of sir Walter: the Gascon knight was so roughly handled and wounded, that he never enjoyed his health afterwards, but died.

His death was laid to the door of the lord of Manny, and the bishop and his kindred vowed revenge for it.

Two or three years after, some good-hearted people endeavoured to reconcile them; and peace was agreed to, on condition, and by way of penance, that the lord of Manny made a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella.

During the time of this journey, the earl Charles of Valois, brother to king Philip the Fair, was besieging la Rèole, and had been there some time; for it appertained, as well as many other cities and towns, to the king of England, the father of him who besieged Tournay; so that the lord of Manny on his return, went to visit the earl Charles of Valois, as William earl of Hainault had married the lord Charles's daughter, and shewed him his letters; for, in these parts, he was as king of France.

It chanced, one night, as he was returning to his lodgings, he was watched and waylaid by the kindred of him on whose account he had performed this pilgrimage, and was murdered at a small distance from the earl Charles's hôtel.

No one knew positively who had done this deed; but the relations of the Gascon knight above mentioned were very strongly suspected: however, they were so powerful, that it was passed over, and excused; for none took the part of the lord of Manny. The earl of Valois had him buried immediately in a small chapel, which at that time was without the walls of la Rèole; and, when the earl of Valois had

had conquered the town, this chapel was inclosed in it. The old man remembered all these circumstances perfectly well, for he had been present when the lord of Manny was interred.

When sir Walter came to the spot, where his father had been formerly buried, with his aged conductor, he found there a small tomb of marble, which his servants had erected over him; and the old man said, 'You may be perfectly assured, that your father was buried and lies under this tomb.' Sir Walter then caused the inscription, which was in Latin, to be read to him by a clerk, and found that the old man had told him the truth. Two days afterwards, he had the tomb opened, took out the bones of his father, and, placing them in a coffin, sent them to Valenciennes, in the county of Hainault, where they were again buried in the church of the Freres Mineurs, near the choir. He ordered masses to be said, and continued yearly.

CHAP. CX.

THE EARL OF DERBY CONQUERS THE CASTLE OF LA RÈOLE.

THE earl of Derby was more than eleven weeks besieging the castle of la Rêole: the miners, however, made such advances, that they had got under one of the courts of the castle; but they could not undermine the dungeon, for it was built on too hard a rock.

The lord Agos de Bans, the governor, then told his companions they were undermined, and in great danger, who were much alarmed at it, and said, 'Sir, you will be in equal peril with ourselves, if you cannot find some method of avoiding it. You are our captain, and we ought to obey you. In truth, we have defended ourselves honorably, and no one can blame us if now we enter into a treaty. Will you, therefore, talk with the earl of Derby, and know if he will accept of our surrender, sparing our lives and fortunes, seeing that we cannot at present act otherwise.'

Sir Agos went down from the great tower, and, putting his head out of a window, made signs that he wished to speak with some one from the army. A few of the English came near him, and asked what he wanted: he replied, that he would speak with the earl of Derby, or sir Walter Manny. When this was told the earl, he said to sir Walter Manny, and to lord Stafford, 'Let us go to the fortress, and see what the governor has to say to us:' they rode, therefore, up to it. When sir Agos perceived them, he saluted each very respectfully, and said, 'Gentlemen, you know for fact, that the king of France has sent me to this town and castle, to defend them to the best of my abilities. You know in what manner I have acquitted myself, and also that I should wish to continue it on: but one cannot always remain in the place that pleases one best. I should therefore like to depart from hence, with my companions, if it be agreeable to you; and that

that we may have your permission, if you will spare our lives and fortunes, we will surrender this castle up to you.' The earl replied, ' Sir Agos, sir Agos, you will not get off so : we know that you are very much distressed, and that we can take you whenever we please ; for your castle now only stands upon props : you must surrender yourselves up unconditionally, and so shall you be received.' Sir Agos answering, said, ' Certainly, sir, if we should do so, I hold you of such honour and gallantry, that you will shew us every mark of favour, as you would with the king of France should do towards any of your knights ; and, please God, you will never stain your honor and nobility for a few poor soldiers, that are within here, who have gained their money with great pain and trouble, and whom I brought with me from Provence, Savoy and Dauphiné : for know, that if the lowest of our men be not treated with mercy, as well as the highest, we will sell our lives in such a manner, as none besieged ever did before. I therefore intreat of you to listen to me, and treat us like brother soldiers, that we may feel ourselves obliged to you.'

The three knights withdrew to a little distance, and conversed a long time together : when, considering the gallantry of sir Agos, that he was a foreigner, and besides, that they could not undermine the dungeon, they returned, and said to him, ' Sir Agos, we shall be happy always to treat every stranger knight as a brother at arms ; and if, fair sir, you and yours wish to leave the castle, you must

carry nothing with you but your arms and horses.
 'Let it be so then,' replied sir Agos.

Upon this he returned to his companions, and related what he had done: they immediately armed themselves, and caparisoned their horses, of which they had only six remaining. Some purchased horses of the English, who made them pay dearly for them.

Thus sir Agos de Bans gave up the castle of la Rèole, of which the English took possession; and he went to the city of Toulouse.

CHAP. CXI.

THE EARL OF DERBY TAKES CASTEL MORON,*
 AND AFTERWARDS VILLEFRANCHE,† IN PERI-
 GORD.

WHEN the earl of Derby had gained possession of the town and castle of la Rèole, where he had spent a long time, he pushed forward, but left there an English knight, to see after the repairs, that it might be put in a similar situation as when he had come before it.

The earl advanced towards Monpouillant,‡ which he instantly ordered to be attacked the moment he arrived. There were in the castle none but the peasantry of the country, who had retired thither with

* A town of Bazadois, near la Rèole.

† A small town, not far from Bergerac.

‡ A town of Bazadois.

their

their cattle, depending on the strength of the place; they defended themselves as long as they were able; but at last it was taken by escalade, though it cost the earl dear, in the loss of many archers, and a young English gentleman called sir Richard Penport*, who bore the banner of the lord Stafford.

The earl gave the command of the castle and its dependencies to a squire of his own, called Thomas Lancaster, and left him with twenty archers.

The earl then came to Castel Moron, which he attacked; but, finding he could not make any impression, he took up his quarters before it for that night. On the morrow morning, a knight from Gascony came to him, called sir Alexander de Chaumont, and said, 'Sir, pretend to decamp with your army, leaving only a small detachment here before the town; and, from the knowledge I have of its inhabitants, I am sure they will sally forth to attack them. Your men will defend themselves as they retreat, and by placing an ambuscade under these olive trees, which as soon as they have passed, one party of your army may fall upon their rear, and the other make for the town.'

The earl followed this advice, and ordered the earl of Oxford to remain behind, with only one hundred men, giving him directions what he wished to have done. He then ordered all the baggage to be packed up, and to march off, as if he were going to another place: after having posted a strong ambus-

* Penford, according to Barnes.

oade in the valley among the olives and vines, he rode on.

When the townsmen of Castel Moron perceived that the earl and the greater part of his army were marching off, they said among themselves, "Let us hasten to arm, and fall forth to combat this handful of English that stay behind: we shall soon discomfit them, and have them at our mercy, which will bring us great honour and profit." They all agreed to this proposal; and, hastening to arm themselves, they sallied out for the fastest, and might amount to about four hundred. As soon as the earl of Oxford and his party saw them coming, they began to retreat, and the French to follow them with great eagerness: they pursued them, until they had passed the ambush, when those posted there advanced upon them, calling out, 'Manny for ever!' for sir Walter commanded this ambuscade. One part of his detachment fell upon those that had come from the town, and the other made for Castel Moron, where they came about midnight, and found the barriers and gates wide open; for the guards thought it was their own people returning. The first comers therefore seized the bridge, and were soon masters of the town; for the inhabitants that had sallied out, were surrounded on all sides, and either slain or made prisoners.

Those that had remained in the town surrendered themselves to the earl of Derby, who received them kindly, and, out of his nobleness of disposition, respited the town from being pillaged and burnt. He made a present of it, and all its dependencies, to sir

sir Alexander de Chaumont, through whose advice he had gained it. Sir Alexander made his brother, who was a squire, called Antony de Chaumont, governor: and the earl of Derby left with him his archers, and forty infantry armed with bucklers, in order to enable him the better to guard the town.

The earl then came before Villefranche, which he took by storm, as well as the castle. He made an English knight, sir Thomas Cook, governor of it.

Thus did the earl of Derby march through every part of the country, without any one venturing out to prevent him. He conquered many different towns, and castles; and his army gained so much riches, that it was marvellous to think on.

CHAP. CXII.

THE EARL OF DERBY CONQUERS THE CITY OF ANGOULEME.

WHEN the earl of Derby gained Villefranche, he advanced towards Miraumont*, approaching nearer to Bourdeaux; for, in all this expedition his light horse, or scouts, had never come near to Port Sainte Marie†. He was three days before Miraumont; and, on the fourth, it surrendered.

* In the diocese of Agen.

† A town on the Garonne, near Aiguillon.

The earl gave the command of it to one of his squires, called John Briscoe*: his army took afterwards a small fortified town upon the Garonne, called Tonniens†, and the strong castle of Damazan, which was well provided with men at arms, and archers. He then came to the city of Angoulême‡, which he closely besieged, and declared he would not depart before it was in his possession. The townsmen, hearing this, entered into a treaty, that their city should remain unhurt for one month; and twenty-four of the principal inhabitants were sent to Bourdeaux, as hostages: if, during this time the king should send forces sufficient to make head against the earl of Derby, the hostages should be returned, and they be accounted free to take which side they pleased; but if otherwise, they would put themselves under the obedience of the king of England.

The earl of Derby continued his march, and came before Blayes§, which he besieged on all sides. Two knights from Poitou were governors of it, named sir Guiscard de l'Angle||, and sir William de Roche-chouart, who declared they would never surrender to any man. Whilst the English were besieging Blayes, a detachment of them marched on to

* Barnes calls him Bristol, but I see no authority.

† In the Agenois, diocese of Agen.

‡ The capital of the Angoumois.

§ An ancient town upon the Garonne.

|| See more of him, and sir Frank van Halle, in the histories of the order of the garter, and also of sir Henry Eam.

Mortaigne* in Poitou, which was under the command of the lord of Boucicault; and there was a sharp engagement, which ended in nothing, except leaving behind many of their men dead and wounded. They returned, therefore, and came by Mirabeau and Aulnay to the siege before Blayes, where almost every day there was some gallant deed of arms performed.

The term of the month being expired, when the town of Angoulême was to surrender, the earl sent his two marshals thither, to whom they swore homage and fealty, in the name of the king of England: the city, by this means, enjoyed peace, and had their hostages returned to them; and the earl, at their request, made sir John Norwich† governor of it.

The siege of Blayes was still continued, until the English began to be weary of it; for winter was approaching, and as yet they had gained no advantage. They held a council, to consider if it would not be better to retire to Bourdeaux, and return in a more favourable season. This was agreed to, and they decamped, passed the Garonne, and came to Bourdeaux. Soon afterwards, the earl divided his forces, and sent detachments to different garrisons, to keep order, and spread more over the country.

* Diocese of Rochelle.

† Summoned to Parliament the 16th and 34th Edward III.
See DUGDALE.

CHAP. CXIII.

SIR GODFREY DE HARCOURT BANISHED FROM FRANCE.

ABOUT this period, sir Godfrey de Harcourt incurred the anger of the king of France. He was a great baron in Normandy, brother to the earl of Harcourt, and lord of St. Sauveur le Vi-comte, and of many other towns in Normandy. This was occasioned through jealousy; for a little before he was so much in favour with the king and duke, that he could do as he liked with either*.

He was publicly banished from France; and, if the king's rage had not subsided, he would have been served as sir Olivier de Clifton and the other knights who had been beheaded the preceding year in Paris. Sir Godfrey, however, had some good friends, who gave him information privately, how much the king was incensed against him. He quitted the kingdom as speedily as possible, and

* Sir Godfrey de Harcourt's disgrace was caused by a quarrel he had with the maréchal de Briquès, on account of a marriage being broken. They fought. The king ordered the affair to be discussed in his parliament; but Harcourt, instead of appearing, besieged a castle belonging to the bishop of Bayeux, brother to the marshal, entered into negotiations with the enemies of his country, and by his hatred to his king, gained the favour of Edward.

Grands Chroniques de St. Denis, a beautiful copy on vellum in the Hafod Library. They had formed part of the celebrated library of Diane de Poitiers, at Anet.

went to Brabant where the duke John, his cousin, received him most joyfully.

He remained there a considerable time, and spent what revenue he had in Brabant; for in France he had nothing, as the king had seized all his estates in Coutantin, and received the rents for his own use. The knight could never regain the love of the king of France, notwithstanding all the earnest intreaties of the duke of Brabant.

This hatred cost dear to France, especially to the province of Normandy; for the traces of it appeared a hundred years afterwards, as you will find by the following history*.

CHAP. CXIV.

JACOB VON ARTAVELD IS MURDERED AT GHENT.

JACOB von Artaveld, the citizen of Ghent that was so much attached to the king of England, still maintained the same despotic power over all Flanders. He had promised the king of England, that he would give him the inheritance of Flanders, invest his son, the prince of Wales, with it, and make it a duchy, instead of an earldom. Upon which account, the king was, at this period, about St. John the Baptist's day 1345, come to Sluys, with a numerous attendance of barons and knights.

* Godfrey de Harcourt did homage to king Edward, as king of France, the 13th June, 1345; when Edward engaged, if he could not recover for him his estates in Normandy, to give him their equivalent in England.—RYMER.

He

He had brought the prince of Wales with him, in order that Jacob von Artaveld's promises might be realised.

The king remained on board his fleet in the harbour of Sluys, where he kept his court. His friends in Flanders came thither to see and visit him: and there were many conferences between the king and Jacob von Artaveld on one side, and the councils from the different capital towns on the other, relative to the agreement before mentioned; as to which, those from the country did not unite in sentiment with the king nor with von Artaveld, who kept continually reminding them of their quarrel, and exhorting them to disinherit earl Lewis, their natural lord, and his young son Lewis, in favour of the son of the king of England: but they declared they never would consent to such a thing. At the last conference, which was held in the harbour of Sluys, on board the king's ship, the Catherine (which was of such an enormous size that wonders might be told of it), they made this unanimous reply: 'Dear sir, the request you have made has given us much uneasiness, and may in times to come be prejudicial to Flanders and our successors. True it is, that there is not in the world any prince whom we love so much, or for whose profit and advantage we would exert ourselves so greatly, as for you: but we alone cannot agree to this proposition, unless all the commonalties of Flanders give their consent. Therefore each of us will return to our different towns, and will explain, in a general way, this business to the inhabitants: when, if the greater

greater part of them shall consent, we also will agree to it : we will return to you again within a month, and bring such answers as we hope will be satisfactory.'

Neither the king of England nor Jacob von Artaveld could at that time obtain more, or any other answer. They wished to have had a shorter day appointed, but in vain : so the king answered, he was satisfied that it should be as they determined.

The conference broke up, and each returned to the town from whence he had been deputed.

Jacob von Artaveld remained some little time longer with the king of England, in order to be made acquainted with all his affairs : he, in return, promised and assured him that he would bring his countrymen over to his opinion ; but he deceived himself, and did wrong in staying behind, and not being at Ghent at the time when the citizens who had been deputed by the corporations of the town arrived there : for as soon as they were returned, taking advantage of the absence of von Artaveld, they collected a large meeting of high and low, in the market-place, and there explained to them the subject of the late conferences at Sluys, and what the king of England had required of them, through the advice and information of Jacob von Artaveld. The whole assembly began to murmur against him ; and this request was received unfavourably by all. They said, ' that if it pleased God, they never would be pointed out, or found so disloyal, as to disinherit their natural lord, in favour of a stranger.'

They then left the market-place, much discontented, and angry with Artaveld. Now, see how unfortunately it fell out; for if he had gone to Ghent, instead of Bruges and Ypres, and had remonstrated with them upon the quarrel of the king of England, they would all have consented to his wishes, as those of the two above-mentioned towns had done: but he trusted so much to his prosperity and greatness, that he thought he could recover every thing back in a little time.

When on his return, he came to Ghent about mid-day, the townsmen, who were informed of the hour he was expected, had assembled in the street that he was to pass through: as soon as they saw him, they began to murmur, and put their heads close together, saying, ‘Here comes one who is too much the master, and wants to order in Flanders according to his will and pleasure, which must not be longer borne.’ With this they had also spread a rumour through the town, that Jacob von Artaveld had collected all the revenues of Flanders, for nine years and more; that he had usurped the government without rendering an account, for he did not allow any of the rents to pass to the earl of Flanders, but kept them securely to maintain his own state, and had, during the time above-mentioned, received all fines and forfeitures: of this great treasure, he had sent part into England. This information inflamed those of Ghent with rage; and, as he was riding up the streets, he perceived that there was something in agitation against him; for those who were wont to salute him very respectfully

fully now turned their backs, and went into their houses. He began therefore to suspect all was not as usual; and as soon as he had dismounted, and entered his hôtel, he ordered the doors and windows to be shut and fastened.

Scarcely had his servants done this, when the street which he inhabited was filled from one end to the other with all sorts of people, but especially by the lowest of the mechanics. His mansion was surrounded on every side, attacked and broken into by force. Those within did all they could to defend it, and killed and wounded many: but at last they could not hold out against such vigorous attacks, for three parts of the town were there.

When Jacob von Artaveld saw what efforts were making, and how hardly he was pushed, he came to a window, and, with his head uncovered, began to use humble and fine language, saying, 'My good people, what aileth you? Why are you so enraged against me? by what means can I have incurred your displeasure? Tell me, and I will conform myself entirely to your wills.' Those who had heard him made answer, as with one voice, 'We want to have an account of the great treasures you have made away with, without any title of reason.' Artaveld replied in a soft tone, 'Gentlemen, be assured that I have never taken any thing from the treasures of Flanders; and, if you will return quietly to your homes, and come here to-morrow morning, I will be provided to give so good an account of them, that you must reasonably be satisfied.' But they cried out, 'No, no, we must have it directly.

you shall not thus escape from us ; for we know that you have emptied the treasury, and sent it into England, without our knowledge : you therefore shall suffer death.' When he heard this, he clasped his hands together, began to weep bitterly, and said, ' Gentlemen, such as I am, you yourselves have made me : you formerly swore, you would protect me against all the world ; and now, without any reason, you want to murder me. You are certainly masters to do it, if you please ; for I am but one man against you all. Think better of it, for the love of God : recollect former times, and consider how many favours and kindneses I have conferred upon you. You wish to give me a sorry recompense for all the generous deeds you have experienced at my hands. You are not ignorant, that, when commerce was dead in this country, it was I who restored it. I afterwards governed you in so peaceable a manner, that under my administration you had all things according to your wishes ; corn, oats, riches, and all sorts of merchandize which have made you so wealthy.'

They began to bawl out, ' Come down, and do not preach to us from such a height ; for we will have an account and statement of the great treasures of Flanders, which you have governed too long without rendering any account ; and it is not proper for an officer to receive the rents of a lord, or of a country, without accounting for them.'

When Jacob von Artaveld saw that he could not appease or calm them, he shut the window, and intended getting out of his house the back way, to
take

take shelter in a church adjoining; but his hôtel was already broke into on that side, and upwards of four hundred were there calling out for him. At last he was seized by them, and slain without mercy: his death-stroke was given him by a sadler, called Thomas Denys. In this manner did Jacob von Artaveld end his days, who in his time had been complete master of Flanders. Poor men first raised him, and wicked men slew him.

News of this event was soon spread abroad: some pitied him, whilst others rejoiced at it.

The earl Lewis had remained all this time in Dendremonde, and with much pleasure heard of Jacob von Artaveld's death, as he had very much opposed him in all his undertakings: nevertheless he durst not yet place confidence in those of Flanders, nor return to Ghent.

When the king of England, who was waiting at Sluys for the return of the deputies, was informed in what manner the inhabitants of Ghent had slain his faithful friend and companion Artaveld, he was in a mighty passion, and sore displeased. He immediately departed, put to sea, and vowed vengeance against the Flemings and all Flanders, declaring that his death should be dearly paid for by them.

The councils of the principal towns guessed that the king of England would be much enraged against them; they therefore considered that their best method to soften his anger, would be to go and excuse themselves from the murder of Jacob von Artaveld,

especially those of Bruges, Ypres, Courtray, Oudenarde, and the franc of Bruges.

They sent to the king and his council for a safe conduct, that they might come over to make their excuses; and the king, whose anger was somewhat cooled, granted it to them.

The principal persons of all the chief towns in Flanders, except those of Ghent, came into England about Michaelmas. The king was at that time in Westminster, near London. They made very fair excuses, and swore most solemnly that 'they were guiltless of the murder of von Artaveld, which had they suspected, they would have guarded and defended him: that they were exceedingly vexed at his loss, and regretted it most sincerely; for they knew how kind he had been to them, how useful he was in all their affairs, and that he had reigned and governed Flanders most wisely: that since those of Ghent had slain him, they should make ample amends for it.' They also explained to the king and his council, 'that though Jacob von Artaveld was dead, he was not the less beloved, or less in the good graces of the Flemings, save and except in the investiture of Flanders, which he wished to be taken from the earl, their natural lord, however he may be attached to the French interest, and from his son, their lawful heir, to give it to the prince of Wales; for the Flemings would not, on any account, listen to it. But, dear sir, you have a fine family of sons and daughters: the prince of Wales, your eldest son, cannot fail being a great prince, with

with an ample inheritance, without desiring that of Flanders: and you have also a young daughter; we have too a young lord, whom we are bringing up and taking care of, that will be lord of Flanders: it perhaps may be, that a marriage could be brought about between them, so that the county of Flanders will in the end be possessed by one of your children.'

These speeches softened very much the anger and ill will of the king of England; and, in the end, both he and the Flemings were equally satisfied with each other. Thus, by degrees, was the death of Jacob von Artaveld forgotten.

CHAP. CXV.

**WILLIAM EARL OF HAINAULT IS SLAIN IN FRIEZ-
LAND, AND MANY NOBLEMEN WITH HIM.**

AT this time and season, William earl of Hainault was laying siege to the town of Utrecht, and had been there for a long time, in order to recover some rights which he claimed as belonging to him. He pressed the siege so closely by his vigorous assaults, that he brought it back to its duty, and obtained every thing he wished for.

Soon afterwards, in the same year, about the feast of St. Remy (1st of October), the earl collected a large body of men at arms, knights, and squires from Hainault, Flanders, Brabant, Holland, Gueldres and Juliers; and, embarking them on board a considerable fleet at Dordrecht, made sail for Friez-

land ; for the earl considered himself as lord thereof. If the Friezlanders had been people to listen to the legality and reasonableness of the claim, the earl was entitled to it : but, as they were obstinate he exerted himself to obtain it by force, and was slain, as well as a great many other knights and squires. God have mercy on their souls !

Sir John of Hainault did not accompany his nephew, but went to another part. On hearing of his nephew's death, he wanted to combat the Friezlanders like one out of his senses : when his servants found the state he was in, they took him and carried him on board a vessel, whether he would or no. Sir Robert de Glewes, who was his body squire, was most active in saving him. They returned in small numbers, and in disorder, to Gertruydenberg in Holland, where the lady Jane his niece, the wife of the above-mentioned earl, was waiting for him. She was the eldest daughter of the duke of Brabant, and from that moment withdrew to the territory of Binch*, which was her dower.

The county of Hainault remained vacant some time, and was governed by sir John of Hainault, until the lady Margaret, mother to earl Albert, came thither, and took possession of the heritage ; to whom all the lords did homage and fealty.

This lady Margaret, countess of Hainault, was married to the lord Lewis of Bavaria, emperor of Rome, and king of Germany.

* Binch, near Mons, in Hainault.

CHAP. CXVI.

SIR JOHN OF HAINAULT QUILS THE ALLIANCE OF
ENGLAND FOR THAT OF FRANCE.

SOON after this, king Philip of France endeavoured by a treaty, through the means of the earl of Blois, to persuade sir John of Hainault to take part with France. He promised to allow him the same subsidy which he received from England, and would assign it upon whatever lands his council might think best. But sir John was not willing to comply; for he had spent the flower of his youth in fighting for England, and king Edward had always much loved and esteemed him.

When the earl of Blois, who had married his daughter, and had three sons by her, Lewis, John and Guy, found that he could not succeed in this business himself, he endeavoured, by means of the lord of Faguinelles, who was the chief friend and adviser of sir John, to gain his point. In order to make him alter his opinion of the English, they made him believe that they would not pay him his subsidy for a considerable time. This put sir John so much out of humour, that he renounced all treaties and agreements which he had entered into with England. The king of France was no sooner informed of it, than he sent to him persons sufficiently authorised, who retained him, as well as his council, for France, at a certain salary; and he recompensed him in his kingdom with a greater revenue than he derived from England.

CHAP

CHAP. CXVII.

THE DUKE OF NORMANDY MARCHES WITH A GREAT ARMY INTO GASCONY, AGAINST THE EARL OF DERBY.

THE king of France, having received information of the expeditions and conquests that the earl of Derby had made in Gascony, issued a special summons for all nobles, and others, that were capable of bearing arms, to assemble in the cities of Orleans and Bourges, and in that neighbourhood, by a certain day.

In obedience to this summons, there came to Paris, Eudes duke of Burgundy, and his son the earl of Artois and Boulogne: they presented themselves before the king with a thousand lances.

Next came the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Ponthieu his brother; then the earl of Eu Guignes, constable of France, each attended by a numerous body of men at arms.

The earl of Tancarville, the dauphine of Auvergne, the earls of Forêts, Dammartin, Vendôme; the lords of Coucy, of Craon, of Sully, of Fresnes, of Beaujeu, of Roye, the bishop of Beauvais, the lord John of Châlons, and many others assembled at Orleans; and all those from the west side of the Loire: those from the eastern side and beyond Poitou, Saintonge, la Rochelle, Quercy, Limousin, Auvergne, assembled in the neighbourhood of Toulouse. These advanced towards Rouergue, where they found
great

great multitudes collected in the city of Rhodéz, and on the borders of Auvergne and Provence.

At last these lords were all assembled, with their men, in and near Toulouse, for they were too great in numbers to be lodged in the city: they amounted, in the whole, to upwards of a hundred thousand persons. This was the year of grace 1345.

Soon after the feast of Christmas, the duke of Normandy, who was the commander in chief of this army, set out to join it, and ordered his marshals, the lord of Montmorency and the lord of St. Venant, to advance with the van.

They came first to the castle of Miraumont, which the English had conquered in the summer, and most vigorously assaulted it. There were within it about a hundred Englishmen for its defence, under the command of John Briscoe.

With the French were the lord Lewis of Spain, and a number of Genoese cross-bowmen, that spared none: those within could not defend themselves against so superior a force, but were taken, and the greater part of them slain, even their captain.

The marshals, having recruited their battalion with fresh men, advanced further, and came before Villefranche, in the county of Agenois. The army halted there, and surrounded it on all sides. Sir Thomas Cook, the governor, was not there, but at Bourdeaux, whither the earl of Derby had sent for him. However those within made a vigorous defence: but, in the end, they were taken by storm, and the greater part of the garrison put to the sword.

The

The army then marched towards the city of Angoulême, leaving the town and castle of Villefranche standing undemolished, and without any guard.

The city of Angoulême was closely besieged ; and the governor of it for the king of England was sir John Norwich.

The earl of Derby, who was at Bourdeaux, heard of the arrival of this great army from France, and that they had already recaptured Miraumont, and Villefranche, which they had plundered and burnt, except the citadel. Having sent for four of his knights, in whom he placed much confidence, he ordered them to take sixty men at arms and three hundred archers, and set out for Villefranche to gain possession of the castle, which was empty, and put it, as well as the gates of the town, into good repair : if the French should come to attack them, to make a good defence, for he should hasten to their assistance, let it cost what it would. These knights did according to their orders, and their names were sir Stephen Tombey, sir Richard Heydon, sir Ralph Hastings, and sir Normant de Finefroide.

The earl then requested the earl of Pembroke, sir Walter Manny, sir Frank van Halle, sir Thomas Cook, sir John Touchet, sir Richard de Beauvais,* sir Philip Radcliff, sir Robert Neville, sir Thomas Bisset, and many other knights and squires, that they would immediately set off to defend Aiguillon,

* Bayeux.—BARNES.

for he should be very much displeased if he lost that town.

They departed, in number about forty knights and squires, and three hundred men at arms and archers. They got into the castle of Aiguillon, where they found about six score brother soldiers, whom the earl of Derby had left there. They laid in a sufficient stock of meal, and all other sorts of provision.

As the four first mentioned knights were on their road to Villefranche, they collected a quantity of cattle, sheep, corn, and all other provision, which they drove before them to Villefranche. They entered the castle, and repaired its walls, as well as those of the town, and were upwards of fifteen hundred fighting men, well supplied with provision for six months.

The duke of Normandy was a long time before Angoulême; and, when he found that he made no impression by his assaults, so well was it defended, but lost many of his people every day, he ordered them to cease from their attacks, and to take up their quarters nearer the city. One day during this siege, the seneschal of Beaucaire came to the duke, and said, ‘Sir, I am very well acquainted with all this country; and, if you will let me have six hundred men at arms, I will make an excursion, in search of cattle and provision; for very shortly, if we remain here, we shall be in need of both.’ This was very agreeable to the duke and his council; and on the morrow morning, the seneschal took those knights and squires who were desirous of advancement.

vancement. Among those who placed themselves under his command were the duke of Bourbon, his brother the earl of Ponthieu, the earls of Tancarville, Forêts, the dauphine of Auvergne, the lords of Pons, of Partenay, of Coucy, of Daubigny, of Auffemont, of Beaujeu, fir Guiscard d'Angle, the lord of Saintré, and many others, to the amount of nine hundred lances.

Towards the evening they mounted their horses, and riding all night, came about the dawn before a large town called Athenis,* which had but lately surrendered to the English. A spy came to the seneschal, and informed him that in the town there were six score men at arms, Gascons and English, and three hundred archers, who would defend themselves well, if they were attacked: 'but,' added the spy, 'I have observed that their cattle are without the town; and in a meadow underneath it are two hundred large beasts feeding.' The seneschal then addressed himself to his companions, and said, 'Gentlemen, I think it most advisable that you should remain in this valley: I will go, with sixty men to collect the booty, which I will drive this way; and I am mistaken, if the English do not fall out, thinking to rescue them, which will throw them into your power.' This was executed; and the seneschal, accompanied by sixty companions well mounted,

* Mr. Barnes makes it *Ancenis*; but that is too far off; and he quotes *du Chesne*, page 663. In my opinion, it must be *St. Jean d'Angely*, as that is in Saintonge, and not too far distant for this excursion.

rode through bye roads round the town, until he came to the fine meads, where the cattle were pasturing.

He then separated his companions, for them to collect the beasts together, and drive them under the walls of the town by a different road.

The watch on the walls and on the castle, seeing this, began to make a great noise and to sound the alarm to awaken their fellow-soldiers and the townsmen; for, as it was very early, many were asleep: they immediately began to stir, and, saddling their horses, assembled in the market-place.

They came there as well armed as they could, and left none in the town but servants. The English were very eager in the pursuit, to recover their cattle, crying out to the French, 'You must not think to get off so.' The seneschal hastened the more, so that the English fell into the ambuscade, which attacked them; and, through the disorder they were in by their too great eagerness, in the space of an hour they were all overcome. Their captain, sir Stephen Lacy, was made prisoner, as well as those who, through a point of honour, were around him: the rest were slain.

The French then made for the town, which they entered by storm; for there were none to defend it. The first battalion which entered was that of the duke of Bourbon. These lords took possession of it; and, having placed a new garrison and governor, they set out with all their booty and prisoners, and returned the next day to the army before Agoulême.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding there were many greater lords in this expedition than the seneschal of Beaucaire, he had all the honour and glory of it.

CHAP. CXVIII.

SIR JOHN NORWICH ESCAPES FROM ANGOULÊME,
WHEN THAT TOWN SURRENDERS TO THE
FRENCH.

THE lords of France remained for a very considerable time before Angoulême. The French overran all the country which had been conquered by the English: they created much trouble, and, whenever they found a fit opportunity, brought to their camp many prisoners and much pillage: the two brothers of Bourbon acquired great praise from all, as they were the foremost in every excursion.

When sir John Norwich, the governor of Angoulême, found that the duke of Normandy would not break up the siege until he had gained the city; that his provisions were growing short, and that the earl of Derby shewed no signs of coming to his relief: having also perceived that the inhabitants were much inclined to the French, and would have turned to them before, if they had dared: he began to be suspicious of treason, and bethought how he could best save himself and his companions.

On the eve of the Purification, he came on the battlements of the walls of the city alone, without
having

having mentioned to any one his intentions, and made signs with his cap that he wanted to speak with some one from the army. Those who had noticed the signal came to know what he wanted: he said, 'he wished to speak with my lord the duke of Normandy, or with one of his marshals.' They went to inform the duke of this, who came there, attended by some of his knights. As soon as sir John saw the duke, he pulled off his cap, and saluted him. The duke returned the salute, and said, 'Sir John, how fares it with you? Are you inclined to surrender yourself?' 'I have no intentions to do that,' replied sir John; 'but I could wish to entreat of you, in reverence to the feast of our Lady, which is tomorrow, that you would grant us a truce for that day only, that neither of us may hurt the other, but remain in peace.'

The duke said, 'he was willing to consent to it.'

Early the next morning, which was Candlemas day, sir John and his companions armed themselves, and packed up all they had. They then ordered one of the gates to be opened, and issued forth; which being perceived by the army, some part of it began to put itself in motion: sir John, upon this, rode up to them, and said, 'Gentlemen, gentlemen, beware that you do no harm to us; for we have had a truce agreed on for this whole day, as you must know, by the duke of Normandy; and we shall not touch you. If you have not been informed of it, go and inquire; for we can, upon the faith of this truce, ride and go wherever we please.' This information was brought to the duke, and he

was asked what was to be done, who replied, 'Let them go, in God's name, whatever way they choose; for we cannot force them to stay. I will keep the promise I made them.'

Thus sir John Norwich passed through the whole French army unhurt, and took the road to Aiguillon. When those who were in garrison there heard in what manner he had escaped and saved his men, they said he had acted very cunningly.

The inhabitants of Angoulême held a council on Candlemas day, and determined to surrender themselves to the duke: they sent persons properly authorised to treat, who managed so well, that the duke shewed them mercy, and pardoned them. He entered the city and castle, where he received their homage, and appointed sir Anthony de Villiers governor, with a hundred soldiers to defend it.

The duke afterwards decamped, and came before the castle of Damazan,* which he laid siege to for fourteen days. There were continued assaults; but at last it was taken, and all within it, Gascons and English, put to the sword.

The duke gave this castle and its dependencies to a squire, from Beauffe, named the Borgne de Nully. He then came before Tonniens,† which is situated on the Garonne, and which he found well provided with Gascons and English. There were many attacks and skirmishes; and he remained some

* A town in Gascony, in the election of Condom.

† Diocese of Agen.

time before it. However, at last they surrendered, upon condition of preserving their lives and fortunes, and to be conducted in safety to Bourdeaux. When these foreigners had left it, the town entered under obedience to the duke, who staid here with his whole army, and on the banks of the Garonne, until after Easter, when he advanced towards port St. Marie upon the same river.

There were about two hundred English to defend the town and this passage, who had strongly fortified it; but they, and all within, were taken by assault. The French, after they had repaired and reinforced it with men at arms, set out and took the road towards Aiguillon.

CHAP. CXIX.

THE DUKE OF NORMANDY LAYS SIEGE TO AIGUILLON,
WITH A HUNDRED THOUSAND MEN.

THE noblemen of France, under the command of the duke of Normandy, pushed on until they came before the castle of Aiguillon, when they encamped and divided their forces in the extensive and handsome meadows on the banks of the river Garonne, which is navigable for great vessels. Each lord was posted with his own people, and every company by itself, according to the orders of the marshals of the army.

This siege continued until the beginning of October; and there were upwards of one hundred thou-

and men in arms, including cavalry and infantry. Those within were obliged to defend themselves against this army two or three times every day, and most commonly from noon until eve without ceasing; for there were continually pouring upon them fresh forces, Genoese or others, who gave them no repose.

The chiefs of the French army found they could never attack, with advantage, the fortrefs, unless they passed the river, which was wide and deep: the duke, therefore, ordered a bridge to be constructed, that they might cross it: three hundred workmen were employed at this bridge, who worked day and night. As soon as the knights who were in Aiguillon perceived that this bridge was nearly finished, and that one half of it was completed, they prepared three vessels, in which they embarked, and, driving away the workmen and guards, instantly destroyed what had taken so much time to make.

The lords of France, seeing this, got ready other vessels to attack them, in which they placed a number of men at arms, Genoese cross-bowmen and infantry, and ordered the workmen to continue their works, under the support of these guards.

When these workmen were thus employed, sir Walter Manny, and some of his companions, embarked about noon, and, dashing upon them, made them quit their work and run off: he soon destroyed all that they had done. This kind of skirmish was continued daily; but at last the French sent such large detachments to guard the workmen, that

that the bridge was completed in a good and strong manner.

The army then passed over it in order of battle, and attacked the castle for the space of one whole day, but did no great harm; and, in the evening, they retreated to their camp, where they were plentifully supplied with every thing.

Those within the castle repaired what damage had been done, for they had plenty of workmen. On the morrow, the French resolved to divide their army into four divisions; the first of which should make an attack on this fortress from the dawn until about nine o'clock; the second, from that time till noon; the third, from noon till four o'clock; and the fourth division from that time till night. This mode of attack was continued for six successive days. However, those within the castle were never so much harassed but that they could defend themselves valiantly; and their enemies gained nothing but the bridge, which was before the castle.

The French lords, upon this, held a council, and sent to Toulouse for eight of their largest battering engines, and constructed four other large ones upon the spot. These twelve engines cast stones into the fortress day and night; but the besieged had taken such pains to avoid what mischief they could do, that they only destroyed the roofs of the houses: they had also made counter-engines, which played upon those of their enemies, and in a short space of time totally ruined six of them.

During this siege, sir Walter Manny made frequent excursions beyond the river, with about six

score companions, to forage, and often returned with his booty in sight of the army.

One day the lord Charles of Montmorency had been on a foraging party, with five or six hundred men, and was conducting a great number of cattle to victual the army, when he met sir Walter Manny under the walls of Aiguillon. They immediately began an engagement, which was very sharp; and many were killed and wounded on both sides. The French were at least five to one. News was brought of this into Aiguillon, when every one sallied out for the fastest, and the earl of Pembroke with the foremost: they dashed into the midst of them, and found sir Walter Manny unhorsed, and surrounded by his enemies, but fighting most valiantly. He was directly rescued and re-mounted. During the heat of the engagement, the French hastened to drive off the cattle to a place of safety, or they would have lost them; for the English were coming in crowds to succour their countrymen, and, falling upon the French vigorously, they put them to flight, rescued those they had made prisoners, and captured also many from them. The lord Charles de Montmorency had great difficulty to escape, and retreated as fast as he could, quite discomfited. When it was over, the English returned to Aiguillon.

Such skirmishes frequently happened, for scarcely a day passed without some engagement.

The French having one day drawn out their army, ordered those noblemen that were from Toulouse, Carcassonne, and Beaucaire, and their dependencies,

pendencies, to make an attack with their men, from the morning until noon ; and those from Rouergue, Cahors, and Agenois, to continue it from their retreat until the evening. The duke promised to any of his soldiers who should gain the draw-bridge of the castle a reward of a hundred golden crowns.* The duke, in order to assist this attack, commanded a number of vessels and barges to come down the river, in which many embarked to cross it, whilst the remainder passed over the bridge. Those in the castle made a gallant defence ; but at last, some of the French got into a small boat, and, passing under the bridge, fastened strong hooks and chains to the draw-bridge, with which they pulled so lustily, that they broke the iron chains which held the bridge, and forced it down.

The French, so eager were they to gain the promised reward, leaped upon the bridge in such haste, that they tumbled over each other. The besieged flung down upon them stones, hot lime, large beams, and boiling water, so that many were hurt, and drowned in the ditches. The bridge, however, was taken, though it cost them more than it was worth : but they could not gain the gate : therefore, as it was late, they returned to their camp, for they had need of rest ; and those within the castle sallied out, and repaired the bridge, making it stronger than it was before.

On the next day, two principal engineers came to the duke, and said, If he would find them wood

* 6s. 8d. each.—BARNES.

and workmen, they would build for him two such high towers, as, when they were advanced to the walls of the castle, should overtop them. The duke commanded all the carpenters of the country to be sent for, and handsomely paid. These four towers were constructed, and placed on the decks of four large vessels; but they took a long time in making, and cost much money. Those ordered upon this attack embarked on board the vessels, and, when they were about half way over the river, the besieged let off four martinets,* which they had newly constructed, to defend themselves against these towers. These four martinets cast such large stones, and so very rapidly, that the men at arms in the towers were much hurt by them: and, having no means to shield themselves, they returned back as fast as they were able: but in their retreat one of the vessels foundered and sunk: the greater number of those that were on board were drowned, which was a great pity, as they were chiefly valiant knights who were eager to distinguish themselves.

When the duke found that this scheme did not answer his expectations, he ordered them to disembark from the three remaining vessels. He was at a loss what plan to follow, by which he could gain the castle of Aiguillon; for he had vowed he would never quit the place until he was master of it and the garrison, unless the king, his father, ordered

* Du Cange, supplement, under the word *Martinetus*, calls it an instrument of war, and quotes this passage for his authority, but does not explain it further.

other wise. The lords therefore advised him to send the constable of France and the earl of Tancarville to Paris, to inform king Philip of the state of the siege, and to know if the king wished the duke of Normandy to continue before Aiguillon, until he had, through famine, made himself master of it, since he could not gain it by force.

The king of England, having heard how much pressed his people were in the castle of Aiguillon, determined to lead a great army into Gascony. He set about making his preparations, summoned all the vassals in his kingdom, and collected forces from whatever quarter he could, that were willing to enter into his pay.

About this time sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who had been banished from France, arrived in England. He was received by the king in his palace; and he assigned over to him a handsome estate in England, to maintain him, suitable to his rank. Soon after this, the king assembled a large fleet of ships at Southampton, and sent thither his men at arms and his archers*.

About St. John the Baptist's day 1346, the king took leave of the queen, and, setting out, left her to the care of his cousin, the earl of Kent. He

* Edward appoints his son, Lionel, lieutenant of the realm, during his absence, by an ordinance dated Porchester, 5th June 1346.—RYMER.

He was at Porchester the 1st and 2d of July 1346.—RYMER.

John de Offord, chancellor, delivered up the great seal to John de Thoresby, the 2d July, in the Isle of Wight.

appointed

appointed the lord Percy, and the lord Neville of Raby, the archbishop of York, the bishop of Durham, and the bishop of Lincoln, to be his lieutenants for the northern parts of his kingdom; and he did not take so many forces out of the realm but that there was a sufficiency of men at arms left to defend it, should there be occasion. He took the road for Southampton, where he tarried until he had a favourable wind, when he embarked with his whole army.

On board the king's ship were the prince of Wales and sir Godfrey de Harcourt: the other lords, earls, and barons embarked with their men, as they had been ordered. There might be about four thousand men at arms, and ten thousand archers, not including the Irish and the Welch, who followed the army on foot.

I will enumerate the names of those lords that accompanied king Edward. I must mention first the prince of Wales, who at that time was only thirteen* years old, or thereabouts: there were Humphry Bohun earl of Hereford and Essex, his brother William Bohun earl of Northampton, Thomas Beauchamp earl of Warwick, Richard Fitzalan earl of Arundel, John Vere earl of Oxford, William Clinton earl of Huntingdon, Robert Hufford earl

* This is a mistake; for he was born the 15th June 1330: he must therefore have been sixteen.

I have copied the names out of Barnes' life of Edward III., wherein he mentions that twenty-two of them, from lord Ughtred, are taken from an old MS. in C. C. C. library, Cambridge, intitled, 'Acta Edwardi filii, Edwardi tertii.'

of Suffolk : of barons, there were the young lord Roger Mortimer, the lord Gerard Lisle, and his kinsman the lord John Lisle, the lord Reginald Cobham, the lords John and Roger Beauchamp, the lord John Moubray, the lord William Roos of Hamlake, the lord Thomas Lucy of Cockermouth, the lord William Felton, the lord Thomas Bradestan, the lord Ralph Basset of Sapcoat, John lord Willoughby of Eresby, the lord Peter Manly fifth of the name, Thomas lord Ughtred, John lord Fitzwalter, William lord Kerdeston, the lord Roger Say, the lord Almaric de St. Amand, the lord Robert Bouchier, the lord John le Strange, the lord Edward Montagu, the lord Richard Talbot, the lord John Mohun of Dunster, William lord Boteler of Wemme, Robert lord Ferrers, John lord Seymour, John lord Grey, William lord Botreaux, the lord Hugh Spencer, the lord John Striveling, Michael lord Peynings, Robert lord Morley, Thomas lord Ashley, John lord Sutton, the lord Nicholas Cantilupe, and others : of knights-bachelors, sir John Chandos, the lord Peter Audley, and the lord James Audley, the lord Bartholemew Burgherft junior, the lord Thomas Holland, the lord Fulk Fitzwarren, sir Richard Pembridge, and several others.

There were few strangers : only sir Oulphart de Guistelles, from the country of Hainault, and five or six knights from Germany, whose names I have forgotten.

When they embarked, the weather was as favourable as the king could wish, to carry him to Gascony;

cony; but on the third day, the wind was so contrary, they were driven upon the coasts of Cornwall, where they cast anchor, and remained for six days and six nights. During this time, the king altered his mind with respect to going towards Gascony, through the advice and representations of sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who convinced him that it would be more for his interest to land in Normandy, by such words as these: ‘ Sir, that province is one of the most fertile in the world; and I will answer on my head, that you may land in any part of it, you shall please without hindrance, for no one will think of opposing you. The Normans have not been accustomed to the use of arms; and all the knighthood, that otherwise would have been there, are at present with the duke before Aiguillon. You will find in Normandy rich towns and handsome castles, without any means of defence, and your people will gain wealth enough to suffice them for twenty years to come. Your fleet may also follow you, up the river Orne, as far as Caen. I therefore intreat you will listen, and give belief to what I say.’

The king, who at that time was in the flower of his youth, and who desired nothing better than to combat his enemies, paid much attention to what sir Godfrey de Harcourt, whom he called cousin, had said. He commanded his sailors to steer strait for Normandy, and ordered the flag of the admiral, the earl of Warwick, to be hoisted on board his ship: he took the lead, as admiral of the fleet, and made for Normandy, with a very favourable wind. The
fleet

fleet anchored near to the shores of Coutantin*, and the king landed at a port called La Hogue St. Vast. News of his arrival was soon spread abroad: it was told all over the country, that the English had landed with a very great army. Messengers were instantly dispatched to Paris, to the king, from the towns of Coutantin. He had already been informed, that the king of England had embarked a numerous army, and was on the coasts of Normandy and Brittany; but he was not sure for what particular part he meant to make. As soon, therefore, as he heard the English had landed, he sent for his constable, the earl of Guignes, and the earl of Tancarville, who were just come from Aiguillon, and ordered them to set off directly for Caen, to defend that place and the neighbourhood against the English.

They replied, they would cheerfully do it, to the utmost of their power, and left the king at Paris, taking with them a number of men at arms, whose ranks were every day increasing, and rode on to Caen, where they were received most joyfully by the inhabitants and the good people of the country, who had retired thither, with their effects. These lords immediately made inquiries into the state of the town, which at that time was not walled, and ordered arms to be prepared; to supply every one with them according to his degree.

We will now return to the king of England, who had landed at la Hogue St. Vast, not far from St.

* Coutantin,—a district of Normandy, of which Coutance is the capital town.

Sauveur le Vicomte*, the inheritance of fir Godfrey de Harcourt, who at that time was a partisan of England†.

CHAP. CXX.

THE KING OF ENGLAND MARCHES INTO NORMANDY,
WITH HIS ARMY, IN THREE BATTALIONS.

WHEN the fleet of England was all safely arrived at la Hogue, the king leaped on shore first; but by accident he fell, and with such violence that the blood gushed out at his nose: the knights that were near him said, ‘ Dear fir, let us intreat you to return to your ship, and not think of landing to-day, for this is an unfortunate omen.’ The king instantly replied, ‘ For why? I look upon it as very favourable, and a sign that the land is desirous of me.’

His people were much pleased with this answer. The king and his army lay that night upon the sands. In the mean time, they disembarked their baggage, armour, and horses; and there was a council held, to consider how they could act most advantageously. The king created two marshals of his army: one was fir Godfrey de Harcourt; the other

* Diocese of Contances.

† On the king’s landing at la Hogue, he created the Prince of Wales a knight, and, in consequence, demanded the usual aid on such occasions, dated Calais, the nativity of our Lady, 1346.—RYMER.

the earl of Warwick : and he made the earl of Arundel his constable. He ordered the earl of Huntington to remain with his fleet, with a hundred or six score men at arms, and four hundred archers. He then held another council respecting the order of march, and determined to divide the army into three battalions ; one of which should advance on his right, following the sea-coast, and another on his left ; and he himself, with the prince his son, and the main body, in the centre. Every night, the marshal's battalion was to retire to the quarters of the king. They thus began their march, as they had resolved upon : those who were on board the fleet coasted the shores, and took every vessel, great and small, they met with. Both the armies of sea and land went forward, until they came to a strong town, called Barfleur*, which they soon gained ; the inhabitants having surrendered immediately, for fear of losing their lives : but that did not prevent the town from being pillaged and robbed of gold, silver, and every thing precious that could be found therein. There was so much wealth, that the boys of the army set no value on gowns trimmed with fur. They made all the townsmen quit the place, and embarked them on board the fleet ; for they did not choose that, after they had continued their march, they should collect together, and attack them.

After the town of Barfleur had been pillaged, but not burnt, they spread themselves over the

* Diocese of Coutances.

country.

country, near the sea-coast, where they did whatever they pleased, for there were none to oppose them.

They advanced until they came to a considerable and wealthy town called Cherbourg*, which they burnt and pillaged in part; but they could not conquer the castle, as it was too strong, and well garrisoned with men at arms: they therefore passed on, and came before Montebourg, near Valognes, which they pillaged and then set fire to it. In this manner did they plunder and burn a great many towns in that country: and acquired so much riches that it would have been difficult to have counted their wealth. They afterwards marched to a very considerable town, and well inclosed, called Carentan†, which had a strong castle, garrisoned by a number of soldiers. Those lords that were on board the fleet then disembarked with their people, and made a vigorous attack upon it; which, when the townsmen perceived, they were fearful of losing their own lives, as well as those of their wives and children, and opened the gates to them, in spite of the men at arms and soldiers that were within the town. They voluntarily offered the English all they had, thinking it best for their advantage.

The men at arms, finding the inhabitants determined to admit the English, retired into the fortress, which was very strong; and the English entered the town; but, not thinking it right to leave so

* Diocese of Coutances.

† About three leagues from the sea, diocese of Coutances.

strong a place behind them, for two successive days they kept up a strong assault against the castle. Those within, not hearing of any assistance coming to them, surrendered, on condition of their lives and fortunes being spared. They marched out, and withdrew to another part of the country.

The English did what they pleased in the town and castle; but, finding that they could not conveniently keep them, they burnt and destroyed both, and forced the inhabitants to embark on board their fleet, and go with them, as they had done to those of Barfleur, Cherbourg, Montebourg, and all the other towns which they had plundered on the sea-coast.

We will now return to the expedition of the king of England.

As soon as he had sent part of his army under the command of the earl of Warwick, one of his marshals, and the lord Reginald Cobham, along the sea-coast, as you have heard; he set out from la Hogue, where he was lodged, under the guidance of sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who was well acquainted with every part of Normandy.

Sir Godfrey, as marshal, advanced before the king, with the van-guard of five hundred armed men and two thousand archers, and rode on for six or seven leagues distance from the main army, burning and destroying the country. They found it rich and plentiful, abounding in all things; the barns full of every sort of corn, and the houses with riches: the inhabitants at their ease, having

cars, carts, horses, swine, sheep, and every thing in abundance which the country afforded.

They seized whatever they chose of all these good things, and brought them to the king's army; but the soldiers did not give any account to their officers, or to those appointed by the king, of the gold and silver they took, which they kept to themselves. In this manner did sir Godfrey, every day, proceed on the left of the king's army, and each night returned, with his party, to the place where he knew the king intended fixing his quarters. Sometimes, when he found great plenty of forage and booty, he was two or three days before he returned. The king therefore, with the army and baggage, advanced towards St. Lo*, in Coutantin; but, before he arrived there, he took up his quarters on the banks of the river, to wait for the return of that part of his army which he had sent along the sea-coast.

When they were come back, with all their booty safely packed in waggons, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Suffolk, the lord Thomas Holland, and the lord Reginald Cobham, took their march, with their battalion, on the right, burning and destroying the country in the same way that sir Godfrey de Harcourt was doing. The king marched, with the main body, between these two battalions; and every night they all encamped together.

* Diocese of Coutances.

CHAP. CXXI.

THE KING OF FRANCE COLLECTS A LARGE FORCE,
TO OPPOSE THE KING OF ENGLAND.

THUS, whilst the English were burning and destroying great part of Normandy, the king of France was not idle, but had issued out his summons to the lord John of Hainault, who came to him with a powerful company of knights from Hainault and elsewhere: he also sent to every earl, baron and knight that were dependent on him. They obeyed his summons in such numbers as France had not seen for a hundred years; but as those in foreign countries were at great distances, they were long before they arrived, and the king of England had overrun and destroyed the whole district of Coutantin in Normandy, to its great detriment.

When king Philip first heard of the destruction the king of England was making in his realm, he swore that the English should never return without his having combated with them; and, that the mischief they had done to his people should be dearly paid for. He hastened, therefore, to dispatch his letters: he sent first to his good friends in the empire, because they were at the greatest distance, and also to the gallant king of Bohemia, whom he much loved, and to the lord Charles of Bohemia his son, who had then the title of king of Germany, which he had obtained, as was well known, through the influence of his father and the king of France, and

he had already quartered the arms of the empire. King Philip intreated of them to come speedily to his assistance, for he was impatient to meet the English, who were despoiling his kingdom.

These lords had no intention of excusing themselves, but set about collecting a large body of men at arms, from Germany, Bohemia, and Luxembourg, and came to the king of France with a powerful army.

The king of France wrote also to the duke of Lorraine, who came to serve him with upwards of three hundred lances.

The earl of Savoy*, the earl of Saltzburgh, the earl of Flanders, and earl William of Namur, came also to king Philip, each of them with a very handsome company.

You before heard the manner of the king of England's march: the two marshals on the right and left, and the king and prince of Wales in the centre. They advanced by short marches; and every-day they encamped between ten and twelve o'clock. They found the country so abounding with provisions, that they had no need to seek for forage, except wines, of which there was a reasonable quantity. It is not to be wondered at, if the people of the country were alarmed and frightened; for they had never seen any men at arms, and knew nothing of war or battles: they therefore fled before the English, as soon as ever they heard

* The earl of Savoy did not come, as you will see further on.

they were coming, leaving their houses and barns quite full, for they had neither means nor art to save them.

The king of England and prince of Wales had, in their battalion, about three thousand men at arms, six thousand archers, ten thousand infantry, without counting those that were under the marshals; and they marched on in the manner I have before mentioned, burning and destroying the country, but without breaking their line of battle. They did not turn towards Coutances, but advanced to St. Lo, in Coutantin, which in those days was a very rich and commercial town, and worth three such towns as Coutances. In the town of St. Lo was much drapery, and many wealthy inhabitants: among them, you might count eight or nine score that were engaged in commerce.

When the king of England was come near to the town, he encamped: he would not lodge in it for fear of fire. He sent, therefore, his advanced guard forward, who soon conquered it, at a trifling loss, and completely plundered it. No one can imagine the quantity of riches they found in it, nor the number of bales of cloth. If there had been any purchasers, they might have bought enough at a very cheap rate.

The English then advanced towards Caen, which is a much larger town, stronger, and fuller of draperies and all other sorts of merchandize, rich citizens, noble dames and damsels, and fine churches. In particular, there are two very rich monasteries; one dedicated to St. Stephen, and the other to the

Trinity. The castle is situated on one side of the town: it is the handsomest in all Normandy: and sir Robert de Blargny was governor, with a garrison of three hundred Genoese.

In the heart of the town was the earl of Eu and of Guignes, the constable of France, and the earl of Tancarville, with a crowd of men at arms. The king rode on very prudently; and, having united his three battalions, he took up his quarters, for that night, in the fields, two short leagues from Caen, near a town called Estreham*, where there is a haven. He ordered the earl of Huntington, whom he had made admiral of his fleet, to sail for that place. The constable of France, and the other lords who were assembled in Caen, watched it well that night; and, on the morrow, they armed themselves, and all the inhabitants. After they were drawn out, the constable and the earl of Tancarville ordered that no one should leave the town, but should guard well the bridge, the gates, and the river. They gave up the suburbs to the English, because they were not inclosed; and they thought they should find sufficient employment to guard the town, which was only defended by the river. The townsmen, however, said, they would march out into the plains, as they were in sufficient force to fight with the English. When the constable perceived their willingness, he said, 'It shall be so then; but, in God's name, you shall not fight

* Estreham,—diocese of Bayeux, at the mouth of the river Orne, four leagues from Caen.

without me.' They then marched out of the town, in handsome order, and made a show, as if they would fight valiantly, and risk their lives upon the event.

CHAP. CXXII.

THE BATTLE OF CAEN. THE ENGLISH TAKE THE TOWN.

ON this day the English rose very early, and made themselves ready to march to Caen: the king heard mass before sun-rise, and afterwards mounting his horse, with the prince of Wales, and sir Godfrey de Harcourt (who was marshal and director of the army, and through whose advice the king had undertaken this expedition) marched forward in order of battle. The battalion of the marshals led the van, and came near to the handsome town of Caen.

When the townsmen, who had taken the field, perceived the English advancing, with banners and pennons flying in abundance, and saw those archers whom they had not been accustomed to, they were so frightened that they betook themselves to flight, and ran for the town in great disorder, without regarding the constable and the men at arms who were with them. The English pursued them eagerly; which, when the constable and the earl of Tancarville saw, they gained a gate at the entrance of the bridge in safety, and a few knights with them, for the English had already entered the town.

Some knights and squires of the French, who knew the road to the castle, made for it; and the governor, sir Robert de Blargny, received them all; as the castle was very large, and plentifully victualled: those were safe that could get there.

The English, who were after the runaways, made great havoc; for they spared none. When the constable, and those that had taken refuge with him within the gate of the bridge, looked round them, and saw the great slaughter the English were making, for they gave no quarter, they began to fear lest they should fall into the hands of some of those archers, who would not know who they were. But they perceived a knight who had but one eye, named sir Thomas Holland (whom they had formerly known in Prussia and Grenada), coming towards them, in company with five or six other knights: they called to him, and asked if he would take them as his prisoners? Sir Thomas and his company advanced to the gate, and, dismounting, ascended to the top, with sixteen others, where he found the above-mentioned knights, and twenty-five more, who surrendered themselves to sir Thomas*.

Having

* But here whatsoever Froissart doth report of the taking of this town, and of the yielding of these two noblemen, it is to be proved, that the said earl of Tancarville was taken by one surnamed Legh, ancestor to sir Peter Legh now living; whether in the fight or within the tower I have not to say: but for the taking of the said earl, and for his other manlike prowess shewed here and elsewhere in this journey, king Edward, in recompense of his agreeable service,

Having left a sufficient guard over them, he mounted his horse, rode through the streets, and prevented many acts of cruelty: as did also other knights and squires, to whom several of the citizens owed their lives, and many a nun was protected from violation by their interference.

It was fortunate for the English, that it was ebb tide in the river, which carries large vessels, and the water very still, so that they could pass and repass it without any danger from the bridge.

Those inhabitants who had taken refuge in the garrets flung down from them, in these narrow streets, stones, benches and whatever they could lay hands on; so that they killed and wounded upwards of five hundred of the English, which so enraged the king of England, when he received the reports in the evening, that he ordered the remainder of the inhabitants to be put to the sword; and the town burnt.

But sir Godfrey de Harcourt said to him: ‘ Dear sir, assuage somewhat of your anger, and be satisfied with what has already been done. You have a long journey yet to make before you arrive at Calais, whither it is your intention to go: and there are in this town a great number of inhabitants, who will defend themselves obstinately in their houses, if you force them to it: besides, it will cost you many

vice, gave him a lordship in the county of Chester, called Hanley, which the said sir Peter Legh doth now possess, as successor and heir to his ancestor, the foresaid Peter Legh, to whom it was so first given.’—HOLLINGSHEAD.

lives

lives before the town can be destroyed, which may put a stop to your expedition to Calais, and it will not redound to your honour : therefore be sparing of your men, for in a month's time you will have call for them ; as it cannot otherwise happen, but that your adversary king Philip, must soon come to give you battle, and you may meet with many difficulties, assaults and skirmishes, that will find full employment for the number of men you have, and even more, if we could get them. We are complete masters of the town without any more slaughter ; and the inhabitants, and all they possess, are at our disposal.'

The king replied: ' Sir Godfrey, you are our marshal ; therefore order as you please ; for this time, we wish not to interfere.'

Sir Godfrey then rode through the streets, his banner displayed before him, and ordered, in the king's name, that no one should dare, under pain of immediate death, to insult or hurt man or woman of the town, or attempt to set fire to any part of it.

Several of the inhabitants, on hearing this proclamation, received the English into their houses ; and others opened their coffers to them, giving up their all, since they were assured of their lives. However, there were, in spite of these orders, many atrocious thefts and murders committed.

The English continued masters of the town for three days : in this time, they amassed great wealth, which they sent in barges, down the river of Estreham, to St. Sauveur, two leagues off, where their
fleet

fleet was. The earl of Huntington made preparations therefore, with the two hundred men at arms and his four hundred archers, to carry over to England their riches and prisoners. The king purchased from sir Thomas Holland, and his companions, the constable of France and the earl of Tancarville, and paid down twenty thousand nobles for them.*

CHAP.

* As the reader may perhaps wish to see another account of Edward's progress, by an eye-witness, I copy from Robert de Avesbury's 'Historia de mirabilibus gestis Edwardi tertii,' the following very curious letter :

De Progressu Regis Angliæ de Hogges usque Cadamum.

'Fait a remembrer, qe nre. seigneur. le Roy & sou. ost pristrent terre a Hogges de Seint Vaal le xiime iour de Juyl & pr. deskipper ses chiuaux & reposer luy & sez gentz & fourner payn demurra illeosques tanq. al Masly proschein suaunt. & troua a les Hogges. ii. niefs de queux. viii. auoint chastiel deuaunt & derere les queux homme fist ardre. Et le Vendredy tant come le Roy demurra ascuns gentz alerent a Barflet & quidoient auer troue plusours gentz et trouerent nulles a regard & trouerent illesques. ix. niefs oue chastiels deuaunt & derere. ii. bones Craiers, & aultres meindres vesseaux les queux furent auxint arz. & fust la ville auxi bone & auxi graunde come la ville de Sandwyche. & apres qe le ditz gentz furent alez lez marineres arderent la ville. & sont arz plusours des bonnes villes & manoirs en la pais enuyron. Et le Marsly qe le Roy remua il ala a Valoignes & guesit illeosques tout la nuyt & troua des vitailles affetz. Et lendemaya remua un graunt journey tanq. a pount dou. quelle ceaux de la ville de Carentane debruferent. & le Roy le fist refaire mesme la nuyt. & passa lendemain tanqe al dite ville de Carentane qe nest forsq. entor. une lieug Engleis del dit pout. la quelle ville est auxy grosse come Leycestre ou il trouerent vynes & vitailles graunt foison & fust mult de

CHAP. CXXIII.

THE ENGLISH COMMIT GREAT DISORDERS IN NORMANDY.—SIR GODFREY DE HARCOURT ENCOUNTERS THE MEN OF AMIENS, ON THEIR WAY TO PARIS,—AND KING EDWARD MARCHES INTO PICARDY.

WHEN the king had finished his business in Caen, and had sent his fleet to England, loaded with cloths, jewels, gold and silver plate, and

de la ville arz pr. riens qe le Roy purroit faire. Et le Vendredy le Roy ala & geust en villes campestres four une Ryuer qe fust mal a passer & ceaux de la ville de Seint Lee destruiserent le pount & le Roy le fist retere & passa lendemain luy & soun ost se herberga ioyant a la ville & auoient tutz de la ville comence d'assorcer la dite ville & attret a eaux multz dez gentz darmes dauoir tenu de mefine la ville & sen alerent auant la venue de Roy. & trouerent en la dite ville bien. Ml. tonels de vyn & des aultres biens graunt foisou. & est la rille plus grosse qe nest Nichole. Et lendemain le Roy prist sou. chamyn e geust a une abbey & sou. ost as villes campestres entour luy. & chiuacherent les gentz del ost robbantz & destruyantz. v. ou vi. leges enuyron. toutz les iour & arderent en plusours lieux. Et la lundy le Roy remua & se herberga a villes campestres & le Marsdy auxint. Et le Mesqerdy par temps vient deuant la ville de Caame a heure de none & auoit nouelx qe graunt foisou. dez gentz darmes fufrent deinz la ville, & le Roy fist arraier ses batailles beals & grosses. & maunda ascuns gentz a la ville des veer & troueront le chastiel beal & fort & leinz fust leuesqe de Baions chiualers & gentz darmes q. le teignent. Et cele partie de la cawe est la ville mult biele & mult grosse & al une bout de la ville est une abbey si noble come il poet estre qe William le Conqueror gist. & est ferme des mures & tours batailles

and a quantity of other riches, and upwards of sixty knights, with three hundred able citizens, prisoners; he then left his quarters and continued his march
as

batailles grauntz & fortz. en quelle abbey nul'e homme nestoit. Et al aultre bout de la ville un aultre noble abbey des dames. & nul homme ne fust demurraunt as ditz abbeies ne en la ville de cele part eawe forsque en le chastiel, & les gentz de la ville furent trahez en la ville del aultre part del eawe. ou le Constable de Fraunce estoit. et le Chamberlayn de Tankeruyte qest un mult graunt seignr. & plusours gentz a la mountance de D. ou DC. & la comune de la ville. & noz gentz del ost saunz assent & saunz arraie assaillirent le pount qe fust mult bien afforce des Brestages & barrer & auoient mult affeare & les Fraunceys defenderent le dit pount fortment. & a eaux porteront mult bien deuaunt qil poet estre pris four eaux. & adonques furent pris les ditz Constable and Chamberlain & al mountance de cent. chiualers.

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et des esquiers VI. ou. VII. et mortz chiualers, esquiers, & aultres gentz de la ville graunt foison. en les rues mesons, & es gardeins homme ne poet mye sauoir quelle nombre des gentz de bien purceo qils furent tantoit despoillez qe homme ne les purroit conuistre. Et nul gentilhomme mort de noz forsq. une esquier qe fust bleste & morust. II. iours apres. Et furent troue en la ville vines, vitailles & aultres biens, & chateaux saunz nombre, & est la ville plus grosse q. nulle ville Dengleterre horspris Loundres. Et quaunt le Roy se remua de les Hogges entor. CC. de niefs demurrerent les queux alerent a Rothemasse & alerent & arderent la pais. H. lieges ou. III. deinz la terre & pristerent plusours biens & amesnerent a leurs niefs. & issint alerent puis a Cherburgh ou il y aad une bone ville & fort chastiel & une beal abbeie & noble & ount arz la dite ville & labbeie. & tount ount ars par toutz les costes for. la mear de Rothemasse tanq. a

xx

hostrem for. la hauene de Caame qamounte a. VI. lieges engleis & est le nombre des niefs qils ount ars. LXI. de guerre
od

as before, his two marshals on his right and left burning and destroying all the flat country.

He took the road to Evreux*, but found he could not gain any thing there, as it was well fortified. He went on towards another town called Louviers†, which was in Normandy, and where there were many manufactories of cloth: it was rich and commercial.

The English won it easily, as it was not inclosed; and having entered the town, it was plundered without opposition. They collected much wealth there; and, after they had done what they pleased, they marched on into the county of Evreux, where they burnt every thing except the fortified towns and castles, which the king left unattacked, as he was desirous of sparing his men and artillery. He therefore made for the banks of the Seine, in his approach to Rouen, where there were plenty of men at arms from Normandy, under the command of the earl of Harcourt, brother to sir Godfrey, and the earl of Dreux.

qd chastiel deuaunt & derere &. XXIII. craiers saunz aultres meindres vesseaux plusours de. XXI. come de XXX. tonels de vyn. Et le Jeofdy apres celo qle Roy fust venuz deuaunt Caame ceaux de la Citee de Bions demaundrent a nre. seignr. le Roy qlls se voudroient rendre a luy eaux & lour ville & luy faire homage meas il ne lez voleit resceure pr. ascuns enchesouns & tanq. les purreit saluer de damage.'

* An ancient town in Normandy, and a bishoprick, twenty-eight leagues from Caen.

† Louviers,—in the diocese of Evreux. It still maintains its celebrity for the goodness of its cloths.

The

The English did not march direct towards Rouen, but went to Gisors*, which has a strong castle, and burnt the town. After this, they destroyed Vernon†, and all the country between Rouen and Pont de l'Arche‡: they then came to Mantes§ and Meulan||, which they treated in the same manner, and ravaged all the country round about. They passed by the strong castle of Roulleboise¶, and every where found the bridges on the Seine broken down. They pushed forward until they came to Poissy**, where the bridge was also destroyed; but the beams and other parts of it were lying in the river. The king remained here five days, whilst they were repairing the bridge, so that his army might pass over without danger.

His marshals advanced very near to Paris, and burnt St. Germain en Laye††, la Montjoie‡‡, St. Cloud§§, Boulogne near Paris, and Bourg la Reine|||. The Parisians were much alarmed, for Paris at that time was not inclosed.

* Diocese of Rouen, fourteen leagues from Rouen.

† Diocese of Evreux, thirteen leagues from Rouen.

‡ Diocese of Evreux, four leagues from Rouen.

§ In the Isle of France, diocese of Chartres, nineteen leagues from Rouen.

|| In the Isle of France, ten leagues from Paris, twenty-three from Rouen.

¶ A village in Normandy, election of Chaumont.

** In the Isle of France, seven leagues from Paris.

†† In the Isle of France, five leagues from Paris.

‡‡ Q. if not Montjoye St. Denis.

§§ Isle of France, two leagues from Paris.

||| Isle of France, one league from Paris.

King

King Philip, upon this, began to stir, and, having ordered all the pent houses in Paris to be pulled down, went to St. Denis*, where he found the king of Bohemia, the lord John of Hainault, the duke of Lorraine, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Blois, and great multitudes of barons and knights, ready to receive him. When the Parisians learnt that the king was on the point of quitting Paris, they came to him, and, falling on their knees, said, 'Ah, sire, and noble king, what are you about to do? to leave your fine city of Paris?' The king replied: 'My good people, do not be afraid: the English will not approach you nearer than they have done.' He thus spoke in answer to what they had said, that 'our enemies are only two leagues off: as soon as they shall know you have quitted us they will come hither directly; and we are not able to resist them ourselves, nor shall we find any to defend us. Have the kindness, therefore, sire, to remain in your good city of Paris, to take care of us.' The king replied: 'I am going to St. Denis, to my army; for I am impatient to pursue the English, and am resolved to fight with them at all events.'

The king of England remained at the nunnery in Poissy to the middle of August, and celebrated there the feast of the Virgin Mary. He sat at table in his scarlet robes without sleeves, trimmed with furs and ermines. He afterwards took the field, and his army marched as before: sir Godfrey de Har-

* Isle of France, two leagues from Paris.

court, one of his marshals, had the command of the van-guard, with five hundred men at arms, and about thirteen hundred archers. By accident, he fell in with a large party of the citizens of Amiens on horseback, who were going to king Philip at Paris, in obedience to his summons. He immediately attacked them with those under his command; but they made a good defence, as they were very numerous and well armed, and had four knights from Amiens with them. This engagement lasted a long time, and many were slain at the onset; but at last those from Amiens were overthrown, killed or taken prisoners.

The English seized all their baggage and arms, and found many valuables; for they were going to the king excellently well equipped, and had but just quitted their city. Twelve hundred were left dead on the spot.

The king of England entered the country of Beauvais, destroying all the flat country, and took up his quarters in a rich abbey called St. Meffien, near to Beauvais,* where he lodged one night.

The morrow as he was on his march, he by chance turned his head round, and saw the abbey all in flames: upon which he instantly ordered twenty of those who had set fire to it to be hung, as he had most strictly forbidden, that any church should be violated, or monastery set on fire. He passed near Beauvais without attacking it, for he was anxious to be as careful of his men and artillery as possible, and

* A city in the isle of France, sixteen leagues from Paris.

took up his quarters at a small town called Milly.* The two marshals passed so near to Beauvais, that they advanced to attack it and skirmish with the townsmen at the barriers, and divided their forces into three battalions; this attack lasted until the afternoon; for the town was well fortified and provided with every thing, and the bishop was also there, whose exertions were of more service than those of all the rest. When the English found they could not gain any thing, they set fire to the suburbs, which they burnt quite close to the gates of the town, and then came, towards evening, to where the king was.

The next day, the king and his whole army marched forward, burning and wasting all the country as they went, and lay that night at a village called Grandvillier. On the morrow, he passed near to Argis: his scouts not finding any one to guard the castle, he attacked and burnt it, and, passing on, destroyed the country, and came to Poix,† which was a handsome town with two castles. The lords of both were absent; and no one was there but two handsome daughters of the lord of Poix, who would have been soon violated, if two English knights, sir John Chandos and lord Basset, had not defended them. In order more effectually to guard them, they brought them to the king, who, as in honor bound, entertained them most graciously: he inquired, whither they would wish to go? they

* A town in the diocese of Beauvais.

† Poix—a town in Picardy, six leagues from Amiens.

answered,

answered, To Corbie* ; to which place they were conducted in safety. The king of England lay that night in the town of Poix.

The inhabitants of Poix, as well as those of the castles, had a conference with the marshals of the army, in order to save the town from being plundered and burnt. They offered to pay, as a ransom, a certain number of florins the ensuing day, as soon as the army should have marched off. On the morrow morning, the king and army departed, except some few, who remained behind, by orders of the marshals, to receive the ransom from the townsmen.

When the inhabitants were assembled together, and considered the small number of the English who were left with them, they resolved to pay nothing, told them so, and directly fell upon them. The English defended themselves gallantly, and sent after the army for succour. When lord Reginald Cobham and sir Thomas Holland, who commanded the rear-guard, were told of this, they cried out, 'Treason ! treason !' and returned back to Poix, where they found their countrymen still engaged with the townsmen. Almost all the inhabitants were slain, the town was burnt, and the two castles razed to the ground. The English then followed the king's army, which was arrived at Airaines,† where he had ordered the troops to halt, and to quarter themselves for that night, strictly commanding, under

* Corbie,—a town in Picardy, four leagues from Amiens.

† A town in Picardy, four leagues from Amiens.

pain of death, that no harm should be done to the town or inhabitants, by theft or otherwise; for he wished to remain there a day or two, in order to gain information where he could best cross the river Somme, which he was under the necessity of doing, as you will shortly hear.

CHAP. CXXIV.

THE KING OF FRANCE PURSUES THE KING OF ENGLAND, IN THE COUNTRY OF BEAUVAIS.

I WISH now to return to king Philip, whom we left at St. Denis with his army, which was increasing every day. He marched off with it, and pushed forward until he came to Coppigny les Guises, which is three leagues distant from Amiens, where he halted.

The king of England, who was still at Airaines, was much embarrassed how to cross the Somme, which was wide and deep, as all the bridges had been broken down, and their situations were well guarded by men at arms. The two marshals, at the request of the king, followed the course of the river, in order, if possible, to find a passage for the army: they had with them a thousand men at arms and two thousand archers.

They passed by Lompré,* and came to Pont de Remy,† which they found defended by numbers

* Lompré-Corps-Saints, a small town in Picardy.

† the election of Abbeville.

of knights, squires and people of the country. The English dismounted, and attacked the French from the very dawn of the morning until near ten o'clock: but the bridge was so well fortified and guarded, that they could not gain any thing; so they departed, and went to a large town called Fontaines sur Somme*, which they completely plundered and burnt, as it was quite open. They next came to another town, called Long; in Ponthieu;† but they could not gain the bridge, so well was it guarded.

They then rode on to Pecquigny,‡ but found the town, castle and bridge, so well garrisoned that it was impossible to pass.

In this manner had the king of France ordered all the bridges and fords of the river Somme to be guarded, to prevent the king of England from crossing it with his army; for he was resolved to force them to fight when he should see the most favourable opportunity, or else to starve them.

The two marshals, having thus in vain followed the course of the Somme, returned to the king of England, and related to him that they were unable to find a passage any where.

That same evening, the king of France took up his quarters at Amiens, with upwards of one hundred thousand men.

* In Picardy.

† A fertile district of Picardy, between the rivers Somme and Canche.

‡ A town in Picardy, on the Somme, three leagues from Amiens.

The king of England was very positive: he ordered mass before sun-rise, and his trumpets to sound for decamping.

All sorts of people followed the marshals' banners according to the orders the king had issued the preceding day; and they marched through the country of Vimeu,* drawing near to the good town of Abbeville. In their march, they came to a town where a great number of the country people had assembled, trusting to some small fortifications which were thrown up there; but the English conquered the town, as soon as they came to it, and all that were within. Many of the townsmen and those from the adjoining country were slain or taken prisoners. The king lodged, that night, in the great hospital.

The king of France set out from Amiens, and came to Airaines about noon: the English king had quitted it about 10 o'clock. The French found there provisions of all sorts; meat on the spits, bread and pastry in the ovens, wine in barrels, and even some tables ready spread, for the English had left it in very great haste. The king of France fixed his quarters there, to wait for his nobles and their retinue. The king of England was in the town of Oisemont.† When his two marshals returned in the evening, after having overrun the country as far as the gates of Abbeville, and to St. Valery, where they had had a smart skirmish, the king of England summoned a council, and or-

* A district in Picardy, of which St. Valery is the capital.

† A town in Picardy, four leagues from Amiens, five from St. Valery.

dered many prisoners, whom his people had made in the districts of Ponthieu and Vimeu, to be brought before him.

The king, most courteously, asked, 'if any of them knew a ford below Abbeville, where he and his army could pass without danger;' and added, 'Whoever will shew us such a ford shall have his liberty, and that of any twenty of his fellow soldiers whom he may wish to select.' There was among them, a common fellow whose name was Gobin Agace, who answered the king, and said, 'Sir, I promise you, under peril of my life, that I will conduct you to such a place, where you and your whole army may pass the river Somme without any risk. There are certain fordable places where you may pass twelve men a-breast twice in the day, and not have water above your knees; but when the tide is in, the river is full and deep, and no one can cross it: when the tide is out, the river is so low that it may be passed, on horseback or on foot, without danger. The bottom of this ford is very hard, of gravel and white stones, over which all your carriages may safely pass, and from thence is called Blanchetaque. You must therefore set out early, so as to be at the ford before sun-rise.' 'Friend,' replied the king, 'if I find what thou had just said to be true, I will give thee and all thy companions their liberty; and I will besides make thee a present of a hundred nobles.'

The king gave orders for every one to be ready to march at the first sound of his trumpet, and to proceed forward.

CHAP. CXXV.

THE BATTLE OF BLANCHETAQUE, BETWEEN THE
KING OF ENGLAND AND SIR GODEMÂR DU FAY.

THE king of England did not sleep much that night, but, rising at midnight, ordered his trumpet to sound. Very soon every thing was ready; and, the baggage being loaded, they set out from the town of Oisemont, about day-break, and rode on, under the guidance of Gobin Agace, until they came to the ford of Blanchetaque, about sun-rise: but the tide was at that time so full, they could not cross. The king, however, determined to wait there for those of his army who were not yet come up; and he remained until after ten o'clock, when the tide was gone out.

The king of France, who had his scouts all over the country, was informed of the situation of the king of England: he imagined he should be able to shut him up between Abbeville and the Somme, and thus take him prisoner, or force him to fight at a disadvantage. From the time of his arrival at Amiens, he had ordered a great baron of Normandy, called sir Godémar du Fay, to guard this ford of Blanchetaque, which the English must cross, and no where else. Sir Godémar had set out, in obedience to this order, and had with him, in the whole, one thousand men at arms and six thousand foot with the Genoese. He had passed St. Ricquier* in

* St. Ricquier,—two leagues and a half from Abbeville.

Ponthieu, and from thence came to Crotoy*, where this ford was: he had collected, in his march, great numbers of the country people. The townsmen of Abbeville had also accompanied him, excellently well appointed: they had arrived at the passage before the English. There were, in all, fully twelve thousand men: among them were two thousand who had jackets, resembling waggoner's frocks, called *torviquiaux*.

On the arrival of the English army, sir Godémar du Fay drew up his men on the banks of the river, to defend and guard the ford.

The king of England, however, did not for this give up his intention of crossing; but, as soon as the tide was sufficiently gone out, he ordered his marshals to dash into the water, in the names of God and St. George. The most doughty and the best mounted leaped in first; and, in the river, the engagement began: many on both sides were unhorsed into the water: there were some knights and squires, from Artois and Picardy, in the pay of sir Godémar, who, in hopes of preferment, and to acquire honor, had posted themselves at this ford, and they appeared to be equally fond of tilting in the water as upon dry land.

The French were drawn up in battle array, near the narrow pass leading to the ford; and the English were much annoyed by them as they came out of the water to gain the land; for there were among

* A town in Picardy, at the mouth of the Somme, opposite to St. Valery.

them Genoese cross-bowmen who did them much mischief. On the other hand, the English archers shot so well together that they forced the men at arms to give way. At this ford of Blanchetaque many gallant feats of arms were performed on each side: but, in the end, the English crossed over, and, as they came on shore, hastened to the fields. After the king, the prince, and the other lords had crossed, the French did not long keep in the order they were in, but ran off for the fastest.

When sir Godémar du Fay found his army was discomfited, he saved himself as quickly as he could, and many with him; some making for Abbeville, others for St. Ricquier.

The infantry, however, could not escape; and there were numbers of those from Abbeville, Arras, Montreuil and St. Ricquier, slain or taken prisoners: the pursuit lasted more than a league.

The English had scarcely gained the opposite bank, when some of the light horse of the French army, particularly those belonging to the king of Bohemia and sir John of Hainault, advanced upon the rear, took from them some horses and accoutrements, and slew several on the bank who were late in crossing.

The king of France had set out from Airaines that morning, thinking to find the English on the banks of the Somme: when news was brought to him of the defeat of sir Godémar and his army, he immediately halted, and demanded from his marshals, what was to be done: they answered, 'You can only cross the river by the bridge of Abbeville,

Abbeville, for the tide is now in at Blanchetaque.* The king of France therefore returned back, and took up his quarters at Abbeville.

The king of England, when he had crossed the Somme, gave thanks to God for it, and began his march in the same order as he had done before. He called to him Gobin Agace, gave him his freedom without ransom, as well as that of his companions, and ordered the hundred nobles of gold to be given him, and also a good horse. The king continued his march, thinking to take up his quarters at a good and large town called Noyelle*, situated hard by; but when he was informed that it belonged to the countess d'Aumarle, sister to the late lord Robert d'Artois, he sent to assure the inhabitants, as well as all the farmers belonging to her, that they should not be hurt. He marched further on; but his two marshals rode to Crotoy, near the sea; they took the town, and burnt it. In the harbour they found many ships, and other vessels, laden with wines, from Poitou, Saintonge and la Rochelle: they ordered the best to be carried to the English army: then one of the marshals pushed forward, even as far as the gates of Abbeville, and returned by St. Ricquier, following the sea-shore to the town of St. Esprit de Rue†.

These two battalions of the marshals came, on a Friday in the afternoon, to where the king was;

* Government of Montreuil.

† Two leagues from St. Valery. I believe it is now called Rue only.

and they fixed their quarters, all three together, near Crecy in Ponthieu.

The king of England, who had been informed that the king of France was following him, in order to give him battle, said to his people : ‘ Let us post ourselves here ; for we will not go farther, before we have seen our enemies. I have good reason to wait for them on this spot ; as I am now upon the lawful inheritance of my lady-mother, which was given her as her marriage-portion ; and I am resolved to defend it against my adversary, Philippe de Valois.’

On account of his not having more than an eighth part of the forces which the king of France had, his marshals fixed upon the most advantageous situation ; and the army went and took possession of it. He then sent his scouts towards Abbeville, to learn if the king of France meant to take the field this Friday ; but they returned, and said they saw no appearance of it ; upon which, he dismissed his men to their quarters, with orders to be in readiness by times in the morning, and to assemble in the same place.

The king of France remained all Friday in Abbeville, waiting for more troops. He sent his marshals, the lord of St. Venant and lord Charles of Montmorency, out of Abbeville, to examine the country, and get some certain intelligence of the English. They returned, about vespers, with information that the English were encamped on the plain.

That

That night, the king of France entertained at supper, in Abbeville, all the princes and chief lords. There was much conversation relative to war ; and the king intreated them, after supper, that they would always remain in friendship with each other ; that they would be friends without jealousy, and courteous without pride. The king was still expecting the earl of Savoy, who ought to have been there with a thousand lances, as he had been well paid for them at Troyes in Champaign, three months in advance.

CHAP. CXXVI.

THE ORDER OF BATTLE OF THE ENGLISH AT CRECY,
WHO WERE DRAWN UP IN THREE BATTALIONS
ON FOOT.

THE king of England, as I have mentioned before, encamped this Friday in the plain ; for he found the country abounding in provisions ; but, if they should have failed, he had plenty in the carriages which attended on him. The army set about furbishing and repairing their armour ; and the king gave a supper, that evening, to the earls and barons of his army, where they made good cheer. On their taking leave, the king remained alone, with the lords of his bed-chamber : he retired into his oratory, and, falling on his knees before the altar, prayed to God, that, if he should combat his enemies on the morrow, he might come off with honor. About midnight he went to his bed ; and,
rising

rising early the next day, he and the prince of Wales heard mass, and communicated. The greater part of his army did the same, confessed, and made proper preparations.

After mass, the king ordered his men to arm themselves, and assemble on the ground he had before fixed on. He had inclosed a large park near a wood, on the rear of his army, in which he placed all his baggage-waggon and horses; and this park had but one entrance: his men at arms and archers remained on foot.

The king afterwards ordered, through his constable and his two marshals, that the army should be divided into three battalions. In the first, he placed the young prince of Wales, and with him the earls of Warwick and Oxford, sir Godfrey de Harcourt, the lord Reginald Cobham, lord Thomas Holland, lord Stafford, lord Mauley, the lord Delaware, sir John Chandos, lord Bartholomew Burgherst, lord Robert Neville, lord Thomas Clifford, the lord Bouchier, the lord Latimer, and many other knights and squires whom I cannot name. There might be, in this first division, about eight hundred men at arms, two thousand archers, and a thousand Welchmen. They advanced in regular order to their ground, each lord under his banner and pennon, and in the centre of his men.

In the second battalion were, the earl of Northampton, the earl of Arundel, the lords Roos, Willoughby, Basset, Saint-albans, sir Lewis Tufton, lord Multon, the lord Lascels, and many others; amount-

amounting, in the whole, to about eight hundred men at arms, and twelve hundred archers.

The third battalion was commanded by the king, and was composed of about seven hundred men at arms, and two thousand archers.

The king then mounted a small palfry, having a white wand in his hand, and attended by his two marshals on each side of him: he rode a foot's pace through all the ranks, encouraging and intreating the army, that they would guard his honor and defend his right. He spoke this so sweetly, and with such a cheerful countenance, that all who had been dispirited were directly comforted by seeing and hearing him.

When he had thus visited all the battalions, it was near ten o'clock: he retired to his own division, and ordered them all to eat heartily, and drink a glass after. They eat and drank at their ease; and, having packed up pots, barrels, &c. in the carts, they returned to their battalions, according to the marshals' orders, and seated themselves on the ground, placing their helmets and bows before them, that they might be the fresher when their enemies should arrive.

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CHAP. CXXVII.

THE ORDER OF THE FRENCH ARMY AT CRESY.

THAT same Saturday, the king of France rose betimes, and heard mass in the monastery of St. Peter's in Abbeville, where he was lodged: having
ordered

ordered his army to do the same, he left that town after sun-rise. When he had marched about two leagues from Abbeville, and was approaching the enemy, he was advised to form his army in order of battle, and to let those on foot march forward, that they might not be trampled on by the horses. The king, upon this, sent off four knights, the lord Moyne of Bastleberg*, the lord of Noyers, the lord of Beaujeu, and the lord of Aubigny, who rode so near to the English that they could clearly distinguish their position. The English plainly perceived they were come to reconnoitre them: however, they took no notice of it, but suffered them to return unmolested. When the king of France saw them coming back, he halted his army; and the knights, pushing through the crowds, came near the king, who said to them, ‘My lords, what news?’ They looked at each other, without opening their mouths: for neither chose to speak first. At last, the king addressed himself to the lord Moyne, who was attached to the king of Bohemia, and had performed very many gallant deeds, so that he was esteemed one of the most valiant knights in Christendom. The lord Moyne said, ‘Sir, I will speak, since it pleases you to order me, but under the correction of my companions. We have advanced far enough to reconnoitre your enemies. Know, then, that they are drawn up in three battalions, and are waiting for you. I would advise, for my part, (submitting, however, to better counsel,) that you halt

* The lord Moyne of Bastleburg in Bohemia.—BARNES.

your army here, and quartered them for the night; for before the rear shall come up, and the army be properly drawn out, it will be very late, your men will be tired and in disorder, whilst they will find your enemies fresh and properly arrayed. On the morrow, you may draw up your army more at your ease, and may reconnoitre at leisure on what part it will be most advantageous to begin the attack; for, be assured, they will wait for you.'

The king commanded that it should be so done: and the two marshals rode, one towards the front, and the other to the rear, crying out, 'Halt banners, in the name of God and St. Denis.' Those that were in the front halted; but those behind said they would not halt, until they were as forward as the front. When the front perceived the rear pressing on, they pushed forward; and neither the king nor the marshals could stop them, but they marched on without any order until they came in sight of their enemies. As soon as the foremost rank saw them, they fell back at once, in great disorder, which alarmed those in the rear, who thought they had been fighting. There was then space and room enough for them to have passed forward, had they been willing so to do: some did so, but others remained shy.

All the roads between Abbeville and Crecy were covered with common people, who, when they were come within three leagues of their enemies, drew their swords, bawling out, 'Kill, kill;' and with them were many great lords that were eager to make shew of their courage. There is no man,

unless he had been present, that can imagine, or describe truly, the confusion of that day; especially the bad management and disorder of the French, whose troops were out of number. What I know, and shall relate in this book, I have learnt chiefly from the English, who had well observed the confusion they were in, and from those attached to sir John of Hainault, who was always near the person of the king of France.

CHAP. CXXVIII.

THE BATTLE OF CRECY, BETWEEN THE KINGS OF
FRANCE AND OF ENGLAND.

THE English, who were drawn up in three divisions, and seated on the ground, on seeing their enemies advance, rose undauntedly up, and fell into their ranks. That of the prince was the first to do so, whose archers were formed in the manner of a portcullis, or harrow, and the men at arms in the rear.

The earls of Northampton and Arundel, who commanded the second division, had posted themselves in good order on his wing, to assist and succour the prince, if necessary.

You must know, that these kings, dukes, earls, barons and lords of France, did not advance in any regular order, but one after the other, or any way most pleasing to themselves. As soon as the king of France came in sight of the English, his blood began to boil, and he cried out to his marshals,
‘ Order

‘ Order the Genoese forward, and begin the battle, in the name of God and St. Denis.’

There were about fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bowmen; but they were quite fatigued, having marched on foot that day six leagues, completely armed, and with their cross-bows.

They told the constable, they were not in a fit condition to do any great things that day in battle. The earl of Alençon, hearing this, said, ‘ This is what one gets by employing such scoundrels, who fall off when there is any need for them.’

During this time, a heavy rain fell, accompanied by thunder and a very terrible eclipse of the sun; and before this rain a great flight of crows hovered in the air over all those battalions, making a loud noise. Shortly afterwards it cleared up, and the sun shone very bright; but the Frenchmen had it in their faces, and the English in their backs.

When the Genoese were somewhat in order, and approached the English, they set up a loud shout, in order to frighten them; but they remained quite still, and did not seem to attend to it. They then set up a second shout, and advanced a little forward; but the English never moved. They hooted a third time, advancing with their cross-bows presented, and began to shoot. The English archers then advanced one step forward, and shot their arrows with such force and quickness, that it seemed as if it snowed.

When the Genoese felt these arrows, which pierced their arms, heads, and through their armour, some of them cut the strings of their cross-

bows, others flung them on the ground, and all turned about, and retreated, quite discomfited. The French had a large body of men at arms on horseback, richly dressed, to support the Genoese.

The king of France, seeing them thus fall back, cried out, ‘ Kill me those scoundrels ; for they stop up our road, without any reason.’ You would then have seen the above-mentioned men at arms lay about them, killing all they could of these run-aways.

The English continued shooting as vigorously and quickly as before ; some of their arrows fell among the horsemen, who were sumptuously equipped, and, killing and wounding many, made them caper and fall among the Genoese, so that they were in such confusion they could never rally again. In the English army there were some Cornish and Welchmen on foot, who had armed themselves with large knives : these, advancing through the ranks of the men at arms and archers, who made way for them, came upon the French when they were in this danger, and, falling upon earls, barons, knights and squires, slew many, at which the king of England was afterwards much exasperated.

The valiant king of Bohemia was slain there. He was called Charles of Luxembourg ; for he was the son of the gallant king and emperor, Henry of Luxembourg : having heard the order of the battle, he inquired where his son, the lord Charles, was : his attendants answered, that they did not know, but believed he was fighting. The king said to them ; ‘ Gentlemen, you are all my people, my
friends

friends and brethren at arms this day: therefore, as I am blind*, I request of you to lead me so far into the engagement that I may strike one stroke with my sword.' The knights replied, they would directly lead him forward; and, in order that they might not lose him in the crowd, they fastened all the reins of their horses together, and put the king at their head, that he might gratify his wish, and advanced towards the enemy.

The lord Charles of Bohemia, who already signed his name as king of Germany, and bore the arms, had come in good order to the engagement; but when he perceived that it was likely to turn out against the French, he departed, and I do not well know what road he took.

The king, his father, had rode in among the enemy, and made good use of his sword; for he and his companions had fought most gallantly. They had advanced so far that they were all slain; and on the morrow they were found on the ground, with their horses all tied together.

The earl of Alençon advanced in regular order upon the English, to fight with them; as did the earl of Flanders, in another part. These two lords, with their detachments, coasting, as it were, the archers, came to the prince's battalion, where they fought valiantly for a length of time. The king of France was eager to march to the place where he

* His blindness was supposed to be caused by poison, which was given to him when engaged in the wars of Italy.—*Bohemy. Mem. de l'Academie*, vol. xxiii.

saw their banners displayed, but there was a hedge of archers before him.

He had that day made a present of a handsome black horse to sir John of Hainault, who had mounted on it a knight of his, called sir John de Fusselles, that bore his banner: which horse ran off with him, and forced his way through the English army, and, when about to return, stumbled and fell into a ditch, and severely wounded him: he would have been dead, if his page had not followed him round the battalions, and found him unable to rise: he had not, however, any other hindrance than from his horse; for the English did not quit the ranks that day to make prisoners. The page alighted, and raised him up; but he did not return the way he came, as he would have found it difficult from the crowd.

This battle, which was fought on the Saturday between la Broyes* and Crecy, was very murderous and cruel; and many gallant deeds of arms were performed, that were never known.

Towards evening, many knights and squires of the French had lost their masters: they wandered up and down the plain, attacking the English in small parties: they were soon destroyed; for the English had determined that day to give no quarter, or hear of ransom from any one.

Early in the day, some French, Germans, and Savoyards had broken through the archers of the prince's battalion, and had engaged with the men

* A village in Picardy, election of Mondidier.

at arms; upon which the second battalion came to his aid, and it was time, for otherwise he would have been hard pressed. The first division, seeing the danger they were in, sent a knight* in great haste to the king of England, who was posted upon an eminence, near a windmill. On the knight's arrival, he said, 'Sir, the earl of Warwick, the lord Stafford, the lord Reginald Cobham, and the others who are about your son are vigorously attacked by the French; and they intreat that you would come to their assistance with your battalion, for, if their numbers should increase, they fear he will have too much to do.'

The king replied: 'Is my son dead, unhorsed, or so badly wounded that he cannot support himself?' 'Nothing of the sort, thank God,' rejoined the knight; 'but he is in so hot an engagement that he has great need of your help.' The king answered, 'Now, sir Thomas, return back to those that sent you, and tell them from me, not to send again for me this day, or expect that I shall come, let what will happen, as long as my son has life; and say, that I command them to let the boy win his spurs; for I am determined, if it please God, that all the glory and honor of this day shall be given to him, and to those into whose care I have intrusted him.'

The knight returned to his lords, and related the king's answer, which mightily encouraged them,

* Sir Thomas Norwich.—MSS.

and made them repent they had ever sent such a message.

It is a certain fact, that sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who was in the prince's battalion, having been told by some of the English, that they had seen the banner of his brother engaged in the battle against him, was exceedingly anxious to save him; but he was too late, for he was left dead on the field, and so was the earl of Aumarle his nephew.

On the other hand, the earls of Alençon and of Flanders were fighting lustily under their banners, and with their own people; but they could not resist the force of the English, and were there slain, as well as many other knights and squires that were attending on or accompanying them.

The earl of Blois, nephew to the king of France, and the duke of Lorraine his brother-in-law, with their troops, made a gallant defence; but they were surrounded by a troop of English and Welch, and slain in spite of their prowess. The earl of St. Pol and the earl of Auxerre were also killed, as well as many others.

Late after vespers, the king of France had not more about him than sixty men, every one included. Sir John of Hainault, who was of the number, had once remounted the king; for his horse had been killed under him by an arrow: he said to the king, 'Sir, retreat whilst you have an opportunity, and do not expose yourself so simply: if you have lost this battle, another time you will be the conqueror.' After he had said this, he took
the

the bridle of the king's horse, and led him off by force; for he had before intreated of him to retire.

The king rode on, until he came to the castle of la Broyes, where he found the gates shut, for it was very dark. The king ordered the governor of it to be summoned: he came upon the battlements, and asked who it was that called at such an hour? The king answered, 'Open, open, governor; it is the fortune of France.' The governor, hearing the king's voice, immediately descended, opened the gate, and let down the bridge. The king and his company entered the castle; but he had only with him five barons, sir John of Hainault, the lord Charles of Montmorency, the lord of Beaujeu, the lord of Aubigny, and the lord of Montfort.

The king would not bury himself in such a place as that, but, having taken some refreshments, set out again with his attendants about midnight, and rode on, under the direction of guides who were well acquainted with the country, until, about day-break, he came to Amiens, where he halted.

This Saturday the English never quitted their ranks in pursuit of any one, but remained on the field, guarding their position, and defending themselves against all who attacked them. The battle was ended at the hour of vespers.

CHAP. CXXIX.

THE ENGLISH ON THE MORROW, AGAIN DEFEAT THE FRENCH.

WHEN, on this Saturday night, the English heard no more hooting or shouting, nor any more crying out to particular lords, or their banners, they looked upon the field as their own, and their enemies as beaten.

They made great fires, and lighted torches because of the obscurity of the night. King Edward then came down from his post, who all that day had not put on his helmet, and, with his whole battalion, advanced to the prince of Wales, whom he embraced in his arms and kissed, and said, ‘ Sweet son, God give you good perseverance : you are my son, for most loyally have you acquitted yourself this day : you are worthy to be a sovereign.’ The prince bowed down very low, and humbled himself, giving all honour to the king his father.

The English, during the night, made frequent thanksgivings to the Lord, for the happy issue of the day, and without rioting ; for the king had forbidden all riot or noise.

On the Sunday morning, there was so great a fog that one could scarcely see the distance of half an acre. The king ordered a detachment from the army, under the command of the two marshals, consisting of about five hundred lances and two thousand archers, to make an excursion, and see

if there were any bodies of French collected together.

The quota of troops, from Rouen and Beauvais, had, this Sunday morning, left Abbeville and St. Ricquier in Ponthieu, to join the French army, and were ignorant of the defeat of the preceding evening: they met this detachment, and, thinking they must be French, hastened to join them.

As soon as the English found who they were, they fell upon them; and there was a sharp engagement; but the French soon turned their backs, and fled in great disorder. There were slain in this flight in the open fields, under hedges and bushes, upwards of seven thousand; and had it been clear weather, not one soul would have escaped.

A little time afterwards, this same party fell in with the archbishop of Rouen and the great prior of France, who were also ignorant of the discomfiture of the French; for they had been informed that the king was not to fight before Sunday. Here began a fresh battle; for those two lords were well attended by good men at arms: however, they could not withstand the English, but were almost all slain, with the two chiefs who commanded them; very few escaping.

In the course of the morning, the English found many Frenchmen who had lost their road on the Saturday, and had lain in the open fields, not knowing what was become of the king, or their own leaders. The English put to the sword all they met: and it has been assured to me for fact, that of foot soldiers, sent from the cities, towns and municipalities,

palities, there were slain, this Sunday morning, four times as many as in the battle of the Saturday.

CHAP. CXXX.

THE ENGLISH NUMBER THE DEAD SLAIN AT THE
BATTLE OF CRECY.

THIS detachment, which had been sent to look after the French, returned as the king was coming from mass, and related to him all that they had seen and met with. After he had been assured by them that there was not any appearance of the French collecting another army, he sent to have the numbers and condition of the dead examined.

He ordered on this business, lord Reginald Cobham, lord Stafford, and three heralds to examine their arms*, and two secretaries to write down all the names. They took much pains to examine all the dead, and were the whole day in the field of battle, not returning but just as the king was sitting down to supper. They made to him a very circumstantial report of all they had observed, and said, they had found eighty banners, the bodies of eleven princes, twelve hundred knights, and about thirty thousand common men.

The English halted there that day, and on the Monday morning prepared to march off. The king

* In those days, knights, or persons of note, wore over their surcoat, having their arms blazoned upon it. This may be seen in any old paintings of that age.

ordered

ordered the bodies of the principal knights to be taken from the ground, and carried to the monastery of Montenay, which was hard by, there to be interred in consecrated ground. He had it proclaimed in the neighbourhood, that he should grant a truce for three days, in order that the dead might be buried. He then marched on, passing by Montreuil-sur-mer*.

His marshals made an excursion as far as Hesdin†, and burnt Vaubain and Serain; but they could make nothing of the castle, as it was too strong and well guarded. They lay that Monday night, upon the banks of the Canche, near Blangy. The next day, they rode towards Boulogne, and burnt the towns of St. Josse and Neufchatel‡: they did the same to Estaples, in the country of the Boulonois.

The whole army passed through the forest of Hardelou, and the country of the Boulonois, and came to the large town of Wissant, where the king, prince, and all the English lodged; and, having refreshed themselves there one whole day, they came, on the Thursday, before the strong town of Calais.

* In Picardy, diocese of Amiens.

† In Artois, situated on the Canche, diocese of Arras.

‡ Villages in Picardy.

CHAP. CXXXI.

THE KING OF ENGLAND LAYS SIEGE TO CALAIS,—THE
POORER SORT OF THE INHABITANTS ARE SENT
OUT OF IT.

A BURGUNDY knight, named sir John de Vienne, was governor of Calais; and with him were sir Arnold d'Andreghen, sir John de Surie, sir Bardo de Bellebourne, sir Geoffry de la Motte, sir Pepin de Were, and many other knights and squires.

On the king's arrival before Calais, he laid siege to it, and built, between it and the river and bridge, houses of wood: they were laid out in streets, and thatched with straw or broom; and in this town of the king's, there was every thing necessary for an army, besides a market-place, where there were markets, every Wednesday and Saturday, for butcher's meat, and all other sorts of merchandise: cloth, bread and every thing else which came from England, and Flanders, might be had there, as well as all comforts, for money.

The English made frequent excursions to Guines* and its neighbourhood, and to the gates of St. Omer and Boulogne, from whence they brought great booties back to the army.

The king made no attacks upon the town, as he knew it would be only lost labour; and he was

* In Picardy, two leagues and a half from Calais. It was in the possession of the English above two hundred years.

sparing of his men and artillery ; but said, he would remain there so long that he would starve the town, into a surrender, unless the king of France should come there to raise the siege.

When the governor of Calais saw the preparations of the king of England, he collected together all the poor inhabitants, who had not laid in any store of provisions, and, one Wednesday morning, sent upwards of seventeen hundred men, women and children, out of the town.

As they were passing through the English army, they asked them, why they had left the town? They replied, Because they had nothing to eat. The king, upon this, allowed them to pass through in safety, ordered them a hearty dinner, and gave to each two sterlings, as charity and alms, for which many of them prayed earnestly for the king.

CHAP. CXXXII.

THE DUKE OF NORMANDY RAISES THE SIEGE OF AIGUILLON.

THE duke of Normandy, whom we left before Aiguillon, which he was besieging, and sir Walter Manny and the other knights who were within it, made, about the middle of August, a skirmish before the castle, which increased so much that almost his whole army was engaged in it. Near about this time, the lord Philip of Burgundy, earl of Artois and of Boulogne, and cousin-german to the duke, arrived. He was a very young knight :

as soon as this skirmish commenced, he armed himself, and, mounting a handsome steed, stuck spurs into him, in order to hasten to the combat ; but the horse, taking the bit between his teeth, ran off with him, and, in crossing a ditch, fell into it upon the knight, who was so grievously bruised that he never recovered, and in a short time died.

Soon afterwards, the king of France sent to his son, the duke of Normandy, to lay all other things aside, and raise the siege, in order to return directly into France, to defend his inheritance against the English.

The duke, upon this, demanded advice from the earls and barons there present ; for he had vowed he would never move from thence until he had the castle, and all within it, in his power : but they assured him, that since the king, his father, had so expressly ordered him to return, he might comply without any forfeiture of his honour. On the morrow, at break of day, therefore, the French decamped, and, trussing up tents and baggage with great haste, took the road for France.

The knights who were in Aiguillon, seeing this, armed themselves, and mounting their horses, sallied forth, the pennon of sir Walter Manny taking the lead, fell upon the French, who were scarcely all marched off, cut down and slew numbers, and took upwards of forty prisoners, whom they brought back to the castle. From them they learnt the successful campaign the king of England had made in France, and that at present he was laying siege to Calais.

Before

Before the king of France left Amiens, after the battle of Crecy, to go for Paris, he was so much enraged against sir Godèmar du Fay, for not having done his duty in defending the ford of Blanchetaque, by which means the English had entered Ponthieu, that he had determined to hang him; to which many of his council also were inclined, for they were desirous that sir Godèmar should make some amends, by his death, for the defeat the king had suffered at Crecy, and called him traitor; but sir John of Hainault excused him, and averted the king's anger, by saying that it would have been difficult for him to have resisted the English army, when all the flower of the French nobility united, could do nothing.

Soon after this, the duke of Normandy arrived in France, where he was joyfully received by his parents, the king and queen.

CHAP. CXXXIII.

SIR WALTER MANNY, BY MEANS OF A PASSPORT, RIDES THROUGH FRANCE, FROM AIGUILLON TO CALAIS.

ABOUT this time, sir Walter Manny had a conversation with a great knight from Normandy, whom he detained as his prisoner, and asked him, What sum he was willing to pay for his ransom? The knight replied, 'Three thousand crowns.' Upon this, sir Walter said: 'I know you are related to the duke of Normandy, much beloved by
 Vol. II. N him,

him, and one of his privy counsellors. I will let you free upon your honour, if you will go to the duke, and obtain from him a passport for myself and twenty others, that we may ride through France, as far as Calais, paying courteously for whatever we may want: if, therefore, you obtain this from the king, I shall hold you free from your ransom, and also be much obliged to you; for I have a great desire to see the king of England, and will not remain in any town more than one night. If you cannot accomplish it, you will return in a month to this fortress, as to your prison.'

The knight set out for Paris, and, having obtained from the duke the passport, returned with it to sir Walter at Aiguillon, who acquitted him of his ransom.

Sir Walter, shortly afterward, set out with twenty horse, and took his road through Auvergne. He told every where who he was, and, at every place he stopped, shewed his passport, and was directly set at liberty; but at Orleans he was arrested, although he shewed his papers, and from thence conducted to Paris, where he was confined in the prison of the Châtelet.

When the duke of Normandy heard of it, he went immediately to the king, and remonstrated with him on the subject, because sir Walter Manny had had his passport through his means, and demanded that he should, as soon as possible, be set at liberty; otherwise it would be said that he had betrayed him. The king answered, that he intended putting him to death, for he looked upon
him

him as one of his greatest enemies. Upon which, the duke said, that if he put his intentions in execution, he would never bear arms against the king of England, and would prevent all those dependant on him from doing the same. Very high words passed between them; and he left the king, declaring he would never serve in any of his armies, so long as Walter Manny should remain in prison.

Things remained in this situation a long time. There was a knight from Hainault, named sir Mansart d'Aisnes, who was eager to serve sir Walter, but had great difficulty in getting access to the duke of Normandy: however, at last the king was advised to let sir Walter out of prison, and to pay him all his expenses. The king would have sir Walter to dine with him in the hôtel de Nesle at Paris; when he presented him with gifts and jewels to the amount of a thousand florins.

Sir Walter accepted them, upon condition, that when he got to Calais he should inform the king, his lord, of it; and if it were agreeable to his pleasure, he would keep them, otherwise he would send them back.

The king and duke said, that he had spoken like a loyal knight.

Sir Walter then took leave of them, rode on by easy days journeys to Hainault, and remained, to refresh himself, three days in Valenciennes.

He arrived at Calais, where he was well received by the king of England, who, upon being informed by sir Walter of the presents he had had from the king of France, said, 'Sir Walter, you have hitherto

most loyally served us, and we hope you will continue to do so; send back to king Philip his presents, for you have no right to keep them: we have enough, thank God, for you and for ourselves, and are perfectly well disposed to do you all the good in our power, for the services you have rendered us.'

Sir Walter took out all the jewels, and, giving them to his cousin, the lord of Manfac, said, 'Ride into France, to king Philip, and recommend me to him; and tell him, that I thank him many times for the fine jewels he presented me with, but that it is not agreeable to the will and pleasure of the king of England, my lord, that I retain them.' The knight did as he was commanded; but the king of France would not take back the jewels: he gave them to the lord of Manfac, who thanked the king for them, and had no inclination to refuse them.

CHAP. CXXXIV.

THE EARL OF DERBY TAKES MANY TOWNS AND CASTLES IN POITOU, AND THE CITY OF POITIERS.

IT has been before mentioned, that the earl of Derby had remained in the city of Bourdeaux, during the siege of Aiguillon. As soon as he was informed that the duke of Normandy had raised the siege, he issued out his summons to all knights and squires in Gascony that were attached to the English.

English. In obedience to which, there came to Bourdeaux the lords d'Albret, de l'Esparre, de Rosem, de Mucidan, de Pumiers, de Courton, de Bouqueton, sir Aymery de Traste, and many others. The earl collected twelve hundred men at arms, two thousand archers, and three thousand infantry. With these he crossed the Garonne, between Bourdeaux and Blayes, and took the road for Saintonge. He first came before Mirabeau*, which he took by assault, as well as the castle; and, having placed therein a garrison of his own men, rode on to Aulnay†, which he also took and its castle, and then Benon‡ and Surgeres§: but they could make nothing of the castle of Marans||, which is about three leagues from la Rochelle: they pushed on, therefore, to Mortaigne-sur-mer, in Poitou, which they took and re-garrisoned. They then advanced to Lusignan¶, and burnt the town, but could not gain the castle. They next marched to Taillebourg**, and, having conquered the bridge, town and castle, put all the inhabitants to the sword, because they had, in the assault, killed a valiant knight.

The whole country was so much alarmed, that they fled before the English, leaving their houses

* A town in Poitou, diocese of Poitiers.

† A town in Poitou.

‡ A town in Ancenis.

§ A town in Ancenis.

|| A town in Ancenis.

¶ A town in Poitou.

** A town in Saintonge, three leagues from Saintes.

empty and defenceless to shut themselves up in the fortified towns. There was not any appearance of opposition from the knights and squires of Saintonge, who had retired to their fortresses, without making any effort to combat the English.

The earl of Derby at last came before the town of St. Jean d'Angely*, and immediately began an attack upon it. There were not in the town any men at arms; and at vespers, when the attack was nearly ended, sir William de Rion, mayor of the town, and the principal inhabitants, sent to demand passports for six of the citizens to come and treat with the earl: it was granted them for that night, and the whole of the next day. On the morrow, these citizens came to the earl in his tent, and swore to be good Englishmen as long as the king of England, or any one from him, would keep them in peace from the French. The earl refreshed himself in the town for four days, and received the homage of the inhabitants: he then advanced to Niort†, of which sir Guiscard d'Angle was governor. He made three attacks upon it; but not gaining any thing, he passed on, and came to the village of St. Maximien, which he took by storm, and slew all that were within it. He next marched to Montreuil Bonin‡, where there were upwards of two hundred coiners, who were minting money for the king of France, and who declared that they

* In Saintonge, diocese of Saintes.

† A city in Poitou, nineteen leagues from Poitiers.

‡ A town in Poitou, three leagues from Poitiers.

would not obey the summons of the earl: but there was so sharp an assault made on it, that the town was taken, and all within put to death. The earl placed a new garrison in the castle, and advanced to Poitiers, which is a large straggling city: he could only therefore lay siege to it on one side; for he had not forces sufficient to surround it. He immediately made an assault; but the townsmen of the poorer fort were so numerous, though little prepared for such an attack, and defended the town so well, that the earl's people gained nothing: they retired to their quarters much fatigued.

On the morrow, some of the earl's knights armed themselves, rode round the town, and afterwards made their report to him of what they had seen and heard. There was then a council held; and it was resolved to attack the town, in three different places at once, the next day, and to post the greater number of the men at arms and archers at the weakest part; which was executed.

It happened, that at that time there was not any gallant knight in the town, who knew what deeds of arms were; nor were they provided with any accustomed to wars, that might advise them how properly to defend themselves. The earl's people, therefore, at this assault, entered the town at the weakest part: and, when those within saw themselves thus conquered, they fled for the fastest out of the other gates, for there were many. Upwards of seven hundred were slain; for the earl's people put every one to the sword, men, women and little children. The city was instantly plundered, and

was full of wealth, as well of its own inhabitants, as of those in the neighbourhood, who had retired into it as to a place of safety. The army destroyed many churches, committed great waste, and would have done much more, if the earl had not forbidden, under pain of death, that either church or house should be set on fire; for he was desirous of remaining there ten or twelve days. Part of the disorders were stopped, but much thieving still continued.

The earl remained in the city twelve days: he might have staid longer, had he chosen it, for no one came to oppose him, and the whole country trembled: none dared to shew themselves out of their strong garrisons. He left Poitiers empty, for its size rendered it untenable. The army, at its departure, was so laden with the riches they had found there, that they made no account of cloths, unless they were of gold or silver, or trimmed with furs. They returned by easy marches, to St. Jean d'Angely, where they remained for some time. The earl, during his stay, made handsome presents to the ladies and damsels of the town, and almost every day gave them grand dinners or suppers. He enlivened them so much that he acquired great popularity: and they publicly said, he was the most noble prince that ever mounted steed. On his taking leave of them, he made the mayor and principal citizens renew their oath, that they would keep and defend the town, as the legal inheritance of the king of England. The earl then rode on, with his whole army, to Bourdeaux, passing by the fortresses

fortresses he had conquered, when he dismissed his troops, and gave them many thanks for the services they had done.

CHAP. CXXXV.

THE KING OF SCOTLAND, DURING THE SIEGE OF
CALAIS, INVADES ENGLAND.

I HAVE been silent some time respecting the king of Scotland; but until this moment I have not had any thing worth relating of him; for, as I have before said, mutual truces had been granted between him and the king of England, which had not been infringed.

During the time the king of England was carrying on the siege of Calais, the Scots determined to make war upon him, thinking it a good opportunity to be revenged for the many disasters he had brought on them. England had at that time very few men at arms, as the king had a great number with him before Calais, as well as in his other armies in Brittany, Poitou, and Gascony.

The king of France took great pains to foment this war, in order that the English might have so much to employ themselves at home as would oblige them to raise the siege of Calais, and return to England.

King David issued his summons for a parliament to be holden at Perth; which was attended by the earls, prelates and barons of Scotland, who were unanimous for invading England as speedily as possible.

Raynald,

Raynald, lord of the isles, who governed the wild Scots, and whom alone they obeyed, was sent to, and intreated to attend the Parliament. He complied with the request, and brought three thousand of the wildest of his countrymen with him.

When all the Scots were assembled, they amounted together to about forty thousand combatants: but they could not make their preparations so secretly as to prevent news of it coming to the knowledge of the queen of England, who had taken up her residence in the north, near the borders. She wrote, and sent summons to all that were attached to the king of England to come to York by a certain day. Many men at arms and archers, who had remained at home, put themselves in motion, and advanced to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which the queen had appointed as the final place of rendezvous.

In the mean while, the Scots set out from Perth, and advanced the first day to Dunfermline: the next day, they crossed a small arm of the sea; but the king went to Stirling, crossed the water there on the morrow, and came to Edinburgh. Here they halted and numbered their men. There were full three thousand knights and squires, well armed, and thirty thousand others, mounted on galloways.

They marched to Roxburgh, the first fortress belonging to the English in their road, under the command of the lord William Montacute, who had lately erected it against the Scots. This castle is handsome, and very strong; the Scots, therefore, passed on, without attacking it, and took up their quarters

quarters on the banks of a river*, between Precy and Lincolle: whence they began to destroy and burn the country of Cumberland. Some of their scouts advanced as far as York, where they burnt all without the walls and down the river, and returned to their army, within one day's march of Newcastle.

CHAP. CXXXVI.

THE BATTLE OF NEVIL'S CROSS.

THE queen of England, who was very anxious to defend her kingdom, and guard it from all disturbers, in order to shew that she was in earnest about it, came herself to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. She took up her residence there, to wait for the forces she expected from the different parts of the kingdom.

* Probably the river was the Irthing, and the towns Lidel and Lanercroft; for lord Hailes says, in his Annals, that 'David stormed the castle of Lidel, and beheaded Walter Selby, the governor. Selby, according to the usage of those loose times, seems to have been both a robber and a warrior, alternately plundering and defending his country.'

'He was one of the band of robbers so famous in English story, who, under their leader, Gilbert Middleton, robbed two cardinals and the bishop of Durham. He afterwards held out the castles of Mitford and Horton against his sovereign.'—*Scala Chron. ap. Leland*, T. i. p. 561.

Yet Packington, apud Leland, T. i. p. 470, says, 'David, king of Scottes caused the noble knight Walter Selby, capitayne of the Pyle of Lydelle, to be slayne afore his owne face, not suffering him so much as to be confessed.'

The

The Scots, who were informed that Newcastle was the place of rendezvous of the English army, advanced thither, and sent their van-guard to skirmish near the town; who, on their return, burnt some hamlets adjoining to it. The smoke and flames came into the town, which made the English impatient to fall out upon those who had done this mischief, but their leaders would not permit them.

On the morrow, the king of Scotland, with full forty thousand men, including all sorts, advanced within three short English miles of Newcastle, and took up his quarters on the land of the lord Neville. He sent to inform the army in the town, that, if they were willing to come forth, he would wait for them and give them battle.

The barons and prelates of England sent for answer, that they accepted his offer, and would risk their lives with the realm of their lord and king. They sallied out in number about twelve hundred men at arms, three thousand archers, and seven thousand other men, including the Welch. The Scots posted themselves opposite to the English; and each army was drawn out in battle array.

The queen of England then came to the place where her army was, and remained until it was drawn out in four battalions. The first was under the command of the bishop of Durham, and the lord Percy: the second, under the archbishop of York and the lord Neville: the third, under the bishop of Lincoln and the lord Mowbray: the fourth was commanded by the lord Baliol, governor of Berwick,

wick, the archbishop of Canterbury and the lord Roos. Each battalion had its just proportion of men at arms and archers, as was expedient. The queen now advanced among them, and entreated them to do their duty well, in defending the honor of their lord and king, and urged them, for the love of God, to fight manfully. They promised her that they would acquit themselves loyally, to the utmost of their power, and perhaps better than if the king had been there in person. The queen then took her leave, and recommended them to the protection of God and St. George.

The two armies were soon after in motion, and the archers on each side began to shoot; but those of the Scots did not long continue it, whilst the English shot incessantly. When the battalions were got into close combat, the engagement was sharp, and well fought.

The battle began about nine o'clock, and lasted until noon. The Scots had very hard and sharp axes*, with which they dealt deadly blows; but at last the English gained the field, though it cost them dear by the loss of their men. On the part of the Scots, there fell in the field, the earl of Sys, the earl Dostre, the earl Patrist†, the earl of Furlant‡, the earl Dastredure, the earl of Mar, the earl John Douglas§, sir Alexander Ramfay, who bore the

* Q. Lochaber axes.

† Probably Patrick earl of Dunbar.

‡ Q. Sutherland.

§ No earl Douglas at that period.

king's banners, and many other barons, knights and squires*.

The king of Scotland was taken prisoner, fighting most gallantly, and badly wounded, before he
was

* Knyghton is the historian who has given the most ample list of the killed at the battle of Durham; yet it is, in various particulars, erroneous; and it has been strangely disfigured by the mistakes of transcribers. Knyghton has afforded the ground-work of the following list; and care has been taken to correct his errors, whenever they could be detected. This was the more necessary, because our writers seem to have despaired of being able to correct the list, and have left many names as erroneous as they found them. Thus, Abercrombie has *Humphry de Blois* and *Robert Maltalent*; and to conceal his ignorance, he affirms them to have been Frenchmen. He has also *David Banant* and *Nicholas Clopodolian*, names for which he has not ventured to account. Some additions have been procured from Fordun, although his list is not so full as that in Knyghton. These additions are marked F.

‘ It is impossible to give a correct list of all the prisoners of distinction taken at Durham; for it appears, that many persons privately took ransoms for the prisoners whom they had made, and suffered them to depart. This practice became so general, that it was prohibited under pain of death [20th November, and 13th December, 1346].

‘ Most of the prisoners of distinction, who had not escaped by means of this connivance, were ordered to be conveyed to the tower of London [8th December, 1346]. From that instrument, and from some other scattered notices, I have drawn up a list of prisoners, not so complete, indeed, as might have been wished, yet more authentic and intelligible than any that has been hitherto exhibited.

‘ KILLED.

‘ John Randolph, earl of Moray,—the younger son of Randolph the regent. With him the male line of that heroic family

was captured by a squire of Northumberland, named John Copeland, who, as soon as he got him, pushed

mily ended. He was succeeded in his honors and estate by his sister, the countess of March, vulgarly termed *Black Agnes*.

• Maurice Moray, earl of Strathern,—in right of his mother Mary. The English, in general, did not acknowledge his title. Knyghton mentions him again under the name of *Maurice de Murref*.

• David de laye Haye, constable, F.—Knyghton mentions his name, but without his title of office.

• Robert Keith, marshal, F.—grandson of sir Robert Keith.

• Robert de Peebles, chamberlain, F.—There is considerable uncertainty as to this name.

• Thomas Charters, chancellor, F.—De Carnuto. A name of great antiquity in Scotland. See Crawford, *Officers of State*, p. 19.

• Humphry de Boys.—Knyghton and his copyists say, *de Bloys*, probably *Boys*, the same with *Boyse*, *Boece*.

• John de Bonneville, F.

• Thomas Boyd.—This is a mistake in Knyghton, unless there were two persons of that name; for there was a Thomas Boyd among the prisoners.

• Andrew Buttergask, F.—This family subsisted until about the beginning of the 15th century, when the heiress, Margaret Buttergask of that ilk, made over her estate to the family of Gray.

• Roger Cameron.

• John de Crawford.

• William Frazer, F.—of Cowie; ancestor of lord Salton.

• David Fitz-Robert—Probably some person who had not as yet assumed a surname.

• William de Haliburton.—Fordun says *Walter*, but there is a Walter de Haliburton among the prisoners.

• William de la Haye.

• Gilbert

pushed through the crowd, and, with eight other companions, rode off, and never stopped until he
was

- Gilbert de Inchmartin, F.
- Edward de Keith.
- Edmund de Keith.—According to Knyghton, the brother of Edward de Keith.
- Reginald Kirkpatrick.
- David de Lindefay,—said by Fordun, to have been ‘the son and heir of lord David de Lindefay,’ ancestor of the earls of Crawford and Balcarras.
- John de Lindefay.
- Robert Maitland,—called *Mantalent* by Knyghton: from whence Abercrombie formed ‘*Maltalent*, a French knight:’ plainly *Matulent*, now *Maitland*, of Thirlestane, ancestor of the earl of Lauderdale.
- ——— Maitland,—the brother of Robert Maitland of Thirlestane.
- Philip de Meldrum,—called *de Mildron* by Knyghton.
- John de la More.
- Adam Moygrave.
- William Moubray.—There was a William Mowbray among the prisoners.
- William de Ramsay, the father.—A William de Ramsay, probably *the younger*, was among the prisoners.
- Michael Scot, F.—of Murthockstone, now Murdieston, ancestor of the duke of Buccleugh.
- John St. Clair.—There was a John St. Clair among the prisoners.
- Alexander Strachan,—called *Straggy* by Knyghton.
- ——— Strachan, the brother of Alexander Strachan.
- John Stewart.
- John Stewart.—I conjecture that sir John Stewart of Dreg-horn is meant, whose father Alan was killed at Halidon.
- Alan Stewart, the brother of John Stewart.
- Adam de Whitfom.—Knyghton has *Adam de Nyston*, which
is

was distant from the field of battle about fifteen miles. He came about vespers, to Ogle castle, on the

is plainly an error in transcribing. Perhaps *de Dennistoun* is the right name. Knyghton reckons *Patonus Heryng*, r. *Patricius Heron*, among the slain. It appears from *Fœdera*, that he was a prisoner. Knyghton also reckons *the earl of Sutherland* among the slain, *Fordin* among the prisoners. It is certain that he was not killed; and, if he were made prisoner, he must have been among those who were suffered to escape immediately after the battle.

‘ PRISONERS.

‘ David II. king of Scots.—He received two wounds before he yielded himself a prisoner.

‘ Duncan earl of Fife.—He had sworn fealty to Baliol. He was condemned to suffer death as a traitor, but obtained mercy.

‘ John Graham, earl of Menteth,—in right of his wife Mary, according to the mode of those times: he was executed as a traitor. He had formerly sworn fealty to Edward III.

‘ Malcolm Fleming, earl of Wigton.—He is called *Malcolm Fleming*, without any addition; *Fœdera*, T. v. p. 537. He had a grant of the earldom of Wigton in 1342. See *Crawford, Peerage*, p. 493. But the English government did not acknowledge the right of David II. to confer titles of honor. It is probable that he made his escape; for, in *Calenders of Antient Charters*, p. 203, there is this title, ‘*de capiendo Robertum Bertram, qui Malcolmum Fleming, Scotum, inimicum, regis, evadere permittit.*’

‘ George Abernethy,—of Salton, ancestor of lord Salton.

‘ David de Annand.

‘ William Baillie,—supposed to be Baillie of Lambistoun or Lambintoun, vulgarly Lamington; *Nisbet*, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 137. But see *fir James Dalrymple*, p. 410.

‘ Thomas Boyd,—probably of Kilmarnock. The son of that Boyd who was the faithful and fortunate companion of Robert Bruce.

the river Blythe, and there declared that he would not surrender his prisoner, the king of Scotland, to
man

‘ Andrew Campbell,—of Loudoun. In right of his mother, Susanna Crawford, heritable sheriff of Airshire, ancestor of the earl of Loudoun.

‘ Gilbert de Carrick,—ancestor of the earl of Dafflis. His son assumed the name of Kennedy.

‘ Robert Chisholm.

‘ Nicholas Knockdolian,—called *Clopdolian* by Knyghton, and by Abercrombie *Clopodolian*, in Galloway, although the name has a German air.

‘ Fergus de Crawford.—Roger de Crawford.

‘ Bartholomew de Dermond,—a German, as the record in *Fœdera* bears. This is mentioned, because Abercrombie, vol. ii. p. 99, says, ‘ perhaps *Drummond*,’ although he had perused *Fœdera*.

‘ John Douglas,—probably the younger brother of William Douglas of Liddesdale, ancestor of the earl of Morton.

‘ William Douglas, the elder.—This person, I am confident, is William Douglas, the bastard brother of William Douglas of Liddesdale. There is no evidence that William lord Douglas, son of Archibald, surnamed *Tineman*, and first earl of that family, was made prisoner at Durham, or, indeed, that he was present at the battle. Fordun, L. xiv. c. 6, expressly says, that he did not come from France till after the battle. We learn from *Fœdera*, that he was at liberty while others were prisoners; and we do not learn from *Fœdera*, that he was ever a prisoner. To support an erroneous hypothesis of Boece, concerning William lord Douglas, records have been misconstrued and misapplied.

‘ Patrick de Dunbar.—Adam de Fullarton.—John Giffard.—Laurence Gilibrand.

‘ David Graham,—of Montrose; ancestor of the duke of Montrose.

‘ Alexander Haliburton,—John de Haliburton.—Douglas, *Peerage*, p. 321, conjectures, not improbably, that they
were

man or woman except to his lord the king of England. That same day were taken prisoners, the earls of

were the brothers of Walter de Haliburton. But he ought not to have referred to Fordun, v. ii. [L. xiv. c. 3.] in proof of this, for Fordun mentions them not.

• Walter de Haliburton,—predecessor of the lords Haliburton of Dirleton.

• Patrick Heron.—William de Jardin.

• Roger de Kirkpatrick.—Made prisoner by Ralph de Hastings.

Hastings died of his wounds. He bequeathed the body of Roger de Kirkpatrick to his joint legatees, Edmund Hastings of Kynthorp and John de Kirkeby; *Fœdera*, T. v. p. 535.

• Thomas de Lippes,—called, in Calendars of Antient Charters, *chevalier*. If he was not a foreigner, I know not who he was.

• William de Livingston.

• ——— Lorein,—said, in the record, to have been the son of Eustace Lorein. This Eustace, called *Tassy* by Fordun, L. xiv. c. 5. was captain of Rokesburgh under Douglas of Liddesdale, the governor.

• Duncan M'Donnel.—Not in the list in *Fœdera*, T. v. p. 535, but mentioned as a prisoner, *Fœdera*, T. v. p. 554.

• Duncan M'Donnel.—See *Fœdera*, ib. the son of the former.

• ——— de Makepath.—Were it not for the particle *de*, I should suppose that some person of the name of *M'Beth* was here understood.

• John de Maxwell,—of Carlaverock, ancestor of the earl of Nithsdale.

• Walter Moine.—David Moray.—William de Moray.—William More.—William Moubray.

• Patrick de Polwarth,—ancestor of the earl of Marchmont.

• John de Preston,—supposed to have been the ancestor of Preston lord Dingwall.

of Murray and March, lord William Douglas, lord Robert de Werfy, the bishops of Aberdeen and St. Andrews, and many other barons and knights. There were about fifteen thousand slain, and the remainder saved themselves as well as they could. This battle was fought near Newcastle, in the year 1346, on a Saturday preceding Michaelmas day*.

CHAP. CXXXVII.

JOHN COPELAND TAKES THE KING OF SCOTLAND PRISONER, AND RECEIVES GREAT ADVANTAGES FROM IT.

WHEN the queen of England, who had remained in Newcastle, heard that her army had gained the day, she mounted her palfrey, and went to the field of battle. She was informed that the king of Scotland had been made prisoner, by a squire of

* Alexander de Ramfay.—Henry de Ramfay.—Nefs de Ramfay.

* William de Ramfay.—Probably Sir William Ramfay of Colluthy. He was at the battle of Poitiers in 1356, and was made prisoner there.

* William de Salton.—Not in *Fœdera*; but mention is made of him, *Calendar of Antient Charters*, p. 199.

* John St. Clair.—Alexander Steel.—Alexander Stewart.

* John Stewart,—of Dalswinton, as the record bears. Ancestor of the earl of Galloway.

* John Stewart,—a bastard, as the record bears.

* John de Valence.—William de Vaux.—Robert Wallace.*

Annals of Scotland, vol. ii. App. No. 6, p. 321, *et. seq.*

* It was on the 17th October.

the

the name of John Copeland, but who had rode off with him they could not tell whither. The queen ordered him to be written to, to bring the king of Scots to her, and to tell him that he had not done what was agreeable to her, in carrying off his prisoner without leave. All that day the queen and army remained on the field of battle, which they had won, and on the morrow returned to Newcastle*.

When the letter from the queen was presented by a knight to John Copeland, he answered, that he would not give up his prisoner, the king of Scots, to man or woman, except to his own lord,

* Froissart supposes that Philippa, the consort of Edward III., was their leader; and in this he has been implicitly followed by the later historians of both nations. A young and comely princess, the mother of heroes, at the head of an army in the absence of her lord, is an ornament to history: yet no English writer of considerable antiquity mentions this circumstance, which, if true, they would not have omitted. Baliol also is said to have been next in command to queen Philippa: yet the ancient English writers say nothing of it; and the whole strain of the *Fœdera* is inconsistent with the hypothesis of his having any such command. Barnes, page 398, says, that the English 'were in number twelve hundred men at arms, three thousand archers, and seven thousand footmen, besides a choice band of expert soldiers, newly come from before Calais; the whole amounting to sixteen thousand complete.' For this he quotes Giovanni Villani, the Florentine historian, lib. xii. c. 75. Villani's account of the battle of Durham is exceedingly superficial; and, which is remarkable, he says nothing of what Barnes quotes as from him. See Muratori *Scrip. Ital.* T. xiii. p. 959.

Annals of Scotland.

the king of England : that they might depend on his taking proper care of him ; and he would be answerable for guarding him well.

The queen, upon this, wrote letters to the king, which she sent off to Calais. She therein informed him of the state of his kingdom.

The king then ordered John Copeland to come to him at Calais, who, having placed his prisoner under good guards, in a strong castle on the borders of Northumberland, set out, and, passing through England, came to Dover, where he embarked, and landed near Calais.

When the king of England saw the squire, he took him by the hand, and said, ' Ha, welcome my squire, who, by his valour, has captured my adversary the king of Scotland.' John Copeland, falling on one knee, replied, ' If God, out of his great kindness, has given me the king of Scotland, and permitted me to conquer him in arms, no one ought to be jealous of it ; for God can, when he pleases, send his grace to a poor squire, as well as to a great lord. Sir, do not take it amiss, if I did not surrender him to the orders of my lady the queen ; for I hold my lands of you, and my oath is to you, not to her, except it be through choice.' The king answered ; ' John, the loyal service you have done us, and our esteem for your valour is so great, that it may well serve you as an excuse ; and shame fall upon all those that bear you any ill will. You will now return home, and take your prisoner, the king of Scotland, and convey him to my wife : and, by way of remuneration, I assign lands, as near your
house

house as you can choose them, to the amount of five hundred pounds sterling a-year, for you and your heirs; and I retain you as a squire of my body and of my household*.

John Copeland left Calais the third day after his arrival, and returned to England: when he was come home, he assembled his friends and neighbours, and, in company with them, took the king of Scots, and conveyed him to York, where he presented him, in the name of the king, to the queen, and made such handsome excuses that she was satisfied.

When the queen had sufficiently provided for the defence of the city of York, the castle of Roxburgh, the city of Durham, and the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, as well as for all the borders, and had appointed the lords Percy and Neville governors of Northumberland, to take proper care of it, she set out from York and returned to London. She ordered the king of Scots, the earl of Murray, and the other prisoners to be confined in the tower of London, and, having placed a sufficient guard

* Copeland was made a banneret, with a salary of 500l. yearly, to him and to his heirs, until lands of the like yearly amount should be bestowed on him. He obtained a pension for life of 100l., under condition of furnishing twenty men at arms. He was also made warden of Berwick. Besides all this, it appears that he obtained the office of sheriff of Northumberland, and keeper of Roxburgh castle. Robert de Bertram had a pension of 200 marks, given to him and to his heirs, until the king should provide him in lands of equal value, for his capture of the knight of Liddestale.

over them, set out for Dover, where she embarked, and, with a favourable wind, arrived before Calais three days preceding the feast of All-saints*.

The king, upon her arrival, held a grand court, and ordered magnificent entertainments for all the lords who were there, but more especially for the ladies; as the queen had brought a great many with her, who were glad to accompany her, in order to see fathers, brothers, and friends, that were engaged at this siege of Calais.

CHAP. CXXXVIII.

THE YOUNG EARL OF FLANDERS IS BETROTHED,
THROUGH THE CONSTRAINT OF THE FLEMINGS,
TO THE DAUGHTER OF THE KING OF ENGLAND.
HE ESCAPES TO FRANCE IN A SUBTLE MANNER..

THE siege of Calais lasted a long time; during which many gallant feats of arms and adventures happened: but it is not possible for me to relate the fourth part of them: for the king of France had posted so many men at arms in the fortresses, and on the borders of the counties of Guines, Artois, Boulogne, round to Calais, and had such numbers of Genoese, Normans, and others

* Knyghton, p. 2592, relates, that, by command of Edward III. David Bruce was conducted to the tower, under an escort of 20,000 men, well armed: that the different companies of London, in their proper dresses, were present at the procession; and that David Bruce rode on a tall *black* horse, so as to be seen by all men.

in vessels on the sea, that none of the English could venture abroad on horseback or on foot, to forage, without meeting some of these parties: there were frequent skirmishes near the gates and ditches of the town, which never ended without several being killed and wounded: sometimes one side gained the advantage, and sometimes the other.

The king of England and his council studied night and day, to invent engines more effectually to annoy the town: but the inhabitants were equally alert to destroy their effect, and exerted themselves so much, that they suffered nothing from them. However, no provisions could be brought into the place but by stealth, and by the means of two mariners, who were guides to such as adventured: one was named Marant, and the other Mestriel; both of them resided in Abbeville. By their means, the town of Calais was frequently victualled; and by their boldness they were often in great danger, many times pursued and almost taken; but they escaped, and slew and wounded many of the English.

The siege lasted all the winter. The king had a great desire to keep on good terms with the municipalities of Flanders, because he thought that thro' them he should the more easily obtain his end. He made, therefore, frequent protestations of friendship to them, and gave them to understand, that, after he should have succeeded at Calais, he would re-conquer for them Lille, Douay, and all their dependencies: so that the Flemings, believing in such promises, put themselves in motion, about the time that

that the king was in Normandy, whence he came to Crecy and Calais; and they laid siege to Bethune. They had chosen, for their commander, the lord Oudart de Renty, who had been banished from France, and had closely besieged the town, and much damaged it by their attacks: but there were within four knights for the king of France, who well defended it; their names were, sir Geoffry de Chargay, the lord Eustace de Ribeaumont, the lord Baudoin d'Anequin, and lord John de Landas.

The town of Bethune was so well defended, that the Flemings conquered nothing: they returned therefore to Flanders, not having been more successful than before.

When the king of England was come to Calais, he did not cease sending flattering messengers, and promises, to the municipalities of Flanders, to preserve their friendship, and lessen their opinion of the king of France, who was taking great pains to acquire their affections. The king of England would have gladly seen the earl Lewis of Flanders, who at that time was but fifteen years old, married to his daughter Isabella, and set so many engines to work among the Flemings that they acceded to it, which mightily rejoiced the king; for he imagined, that by this marriage he would easily govern that country.

The Flemings also thought, that this alliance would enable them more effectually to resist the French; and that it would be more profitable to be connected with the king of England than with the king of France.

Their young earl, however, who had been educated with the royal family of France, and who at the time was in that kingdom, would not agree to it, and declared frankly, that he would never take to wife, the daughter of him who had slain his father.

On the other hand, duke John of Brabant was very eagerly trying to make a match between the earl and his daughter, and promised to obtain for him the full enjoyment of Flanders, by fair or foul means. The duke also gave the king of France to understand, that, if the marriage took place, he would manage the Flemings, that they should attach themselves to him, in preference to the king of England. Upon the strength of these promises, the king of France consented to the marriage of the earl of Flanders with the duke of Brabant's daughter. After the duke had obtained this consent, he sent messengers to all the principal citizens of the great towns in Flanders, who coloured the union with so many specious reasons, that the councils of the principal towns sent to the earl, and informed him that if he would come to Flanders, and follow their advice, they would be his true friends, and would give up to him all royalties, rights, and jurisdictions, in a greater degree than any earl had hitherto been possessed of. The earl was advised to go to Flanders, where he was joyfully received; and the chief towns made him rich and handsome presents.

As soon as the king of England was informed of this he sent the earls of Northampton and Arundel, and lord Reginald Cobham, into Flanders; who managed

managed matters so well with the leading men in place, and with the corporations, that they were more desirous their lord should marry a daughter of the king of England, than the daughter of the duke of Brabant: they very affectionately intreated their lord so to do, and supported it by many strong and good arguments, which would be too tedious to detail here; insomuch that those of the duke of Brabant's party could say nothing to the contrary. The earl, however, would not consent to it, notwithstanding their fair speeches and arguments, but repeated his former declaration, that he would never marry the daughter of him who had killed his father, were he to have a moiety of the kingdom of England for her dower.

When the Flemings heard this, they said, their lord was too much of a Frenchman, and very ill advised, and that he must not expect any good from them, since he would not listen to their councils. They arrested him, and confined him, though not a close prisoner, and told him, he should never have his liberty until he would pay attention to their advice: they added, that if the late earl, his father, had not loved the French so much, but had listened to them, he would have been the greatest prince in Christendom, and would have recovered Lisle, Bethune and Douay, and been alive at this day.

Whilst all this was passing, the king of England still held on the siege of Calais. He kept his court there at Christmas in a royal and noble manner; and in the ensuing Lent, the earl of Derby, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Oxford, and many knights
and

and squires who had crossed the sea with them, returned from Gascony.

The earl of Flanders was for a long time in danger from the Flemings, and, being a prisoner, was perfectly weary of it. He therefore made them understand, that he was willing to follow their advice, for he could receive more advantages from them than from those in any other country. These words pleased the Flemings much: they gave him his liberty, and allowed him to partake of one of his favourite amusements, hawking, of which he was very fond. However, when he went to follow this sport, they set a good watch over him, that he did not escape, nor was stolen from those who had undertaken to guard him, on pain of death. These guards were of the king of England's party; and watched him so closely that they would scarcely allow him to make water.

This conduct lasted so long, and was so offensive to the earl, that he agreed to marry the king of England's daughter. The Flemings immediately informed the king of it, and desired that the king and queen would come to the monastery at Bergues, accompanied by their daughter, and they would bring their earl there, and conclude the marriage. You may easily imagine how pleased the king and queen were with this news: they said, the Flemings were very good sort of people. A day was fixed on for all parties to be at Bergues St. Vinox, between Newport and Gravelines.

The most powerful and leading men of the principal towns of Flanders came hither in great pomp, bringing

bringing their lord with them. He respectfully saluted the king and queen, who were there in great state.

The king took the earl gently by the hand, led him forth, and said, to excuse himself as being the cause of the death of his father, that, as God should help him, he had never heard, on the day of the battle of Crecy, nor on the morrow, that the earl had been there.

The young earl appeared to be satisfied with this excuse. The subject of the marriage was next discussed, and certain articles and treaties were agreed upon between the king, the earl, and the states of Flanders, which were promised and sworn to be adhered to*.

The earl was then betrothed to the lady Isabella, daughter of the king and queen of England, whom he engaged to espouse; but the day of marriage was put off, until the king should have more leisure. The Flemings returned home, taking with them their lord; and they quitted the king, queen and the council in very good humour: the king went back to the siege of Calais.

Things remained in this state: whilst the king was making preparations for rich presents of cloths and jewels to distribute on the wedding-day, the queen was employed in the same manner, as she was anxious to acquit herself on the occasion with honor and generosity.

* There is in the *Fœdera* the treaty of Marriage, dated Dunkirk, 3d March 1346; but the seal has been torn off, probably as not having been carried into effect.

The earl of Flanders, who was returned to his own country, and among his own people, was continually hawking, and pretended that this English alliance was perfectly agreeable to him. The Flemings believed all he said, and did not keep so strict a guard upon him as before : but they were not then acquainted with the disposition of their lord ; for, however much he might dissemble in his outward behaviour, he was in his heart devoted to the French.

It happened one day, in the same week that he was to espouse the English princess, he went out a hawking : the falconer fled his hawk at a heron, and the earl did the same with his : the two hawks pursued their game, and the earl galloped off, as if following them, crying, ‘ Hoyer, hoye.’ When he was at some distance from his keepers, and in the open fields, he stuck spurs into his horse, and made such speed that he was soon out of sight : he did not stop until he was got into Artois, where he was safe. He then went to king Philip in France, and related to him and his nobles his adventures, who told him he had acted wisely ; but the English, on the contrary, accused him of betraying and deceiving them.

The king of England, nevertheless, did not fail for this, to cultivate the friendship of the Flemings ; for he knew that what had happened was not through their consent, but, on the contrary, that they were very much enraged at it ; so he was immediately satisfied with the excuses they made him on the occasion.

CHAP. CXXXIX.

THE LORD ROBERT DE NAMUR* DOES HOMAGE TO
THE KING OF ENGLAND, BEFORE CALAIS.

MANY barons and knights, from Flanders; Hainault, Brabant and Germany came to pay their respects to the king and queen, whilst they were besieging Calais; and none returned without considerable presents.

About this time, the lord Robert de Namur was newly returned into the county of Namur, from an expedition to the Holy Land, where he had been knighted by the lord Despentin. He was very young, and had not been solicited for his assistance by either of the two kings. He set out with a rich and numerous attendance, and came to Calais, accompanied by many knights and squires, where he was kindly received by the king, queen and all the barons. He gained their favour and esteem, from bearing the same name as his uncle, the lord Robert d'Artois, who had been formerly so well beloved by them, and from whose councils they had reaped so much benefit. Lord Robert de Namur from this time became a loyal servant to the king of England, who granted him a pension of three hun-

* Lord Robert de Namur was Froissart's great patron; and to him we are indebted for this history, as he himself mentions in his preface. He was created a knight of the garter, in Richard II.'s reign, and is the 85th knight of that order.—See Ashmole's history of the order of the garter.

dred pounds sterling a-year, and assigned the payment of it on his chest at Bruges. He remained with the king at the siege of Calais, until the town was won, as you will hear related.

CHAP. CXL.

THE ENGLISH CONQUER LA ROCHE-D'ERRIEN*,—TO WHICH PLACE THE LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS LAYS SIEGE.

I HAVE abstained a long time from speaking of the lord Charles of Blois, at that time duke of Brittany, and of the countess of Montfort; but it has been occasioned by the truce agreed to before Vannes, which was strictly observed: each party, during that time, kept peaceably all that they had gained.

As soon as the truce was expired, the war was renewed with vigour. The king of England had sent into Brittany sir Thomas Daggeworth† and sir John Hartwell; and they had quitted the siege of Calais with two hundred men at arms and four hundred archers.

The countess of Montfort remained in the town of Hennebon; and she had with her sir Taneguy du Châtel, a knight from lower Brittany. The

* A town in Brittany, about two leagues from Treguier, near Guingamp.

† Sir Thomas Daggeworth was appointed commander in Brittany, by writ of privy seal, dated Reading, January 10, 1347.

—FœDERA.

English and Bretons made frequent attacks upon the lord Charles's party, and with various success; but the country was completely ruined and destroyed by these men at arms, and the poor people paid dearly for it.

Three knights, one day, set out to besiege a town called la Roche-d'errien : they had collected a number of men at arms on horseback, and foot soldiers, and made some violent attacks upon the town ; but it was so well defended, that the English could not gain any advantage. The captain of the garrison for lord Charles was Taffart de Guines*, but three parts of the inhabitants were more attached to the English than to the French ; so they arrested sir Taffart, and declared they would murder him, if he would not join them in surrendering the place to the English. Upon this, he said he would comply with whatever they wished : they then let him go, and advanced towards the English army, whom they admitted into their town. Sir Taffart was continued as before, governor of it. When the English returned to Hennebon, they left with him a sufficiency of men at arms and archers, to defend the town and castle.

Lord Charles, when he heard this, swore things should not go on thus. He summoned all his partisans in Brittany and Normandy, and assembled in the city of Nantes sixteen hundred men in armour, and twelve thousand foot soldiers. There might be

* The historians of Brittany seems to think this person should be Richard Touffaint.

four hundred knights and twenty-three bannerets, who all came to lay siege to la Roche-d'errien. They brought with them large engines, which threw stones into the town day and night, and much annoyed the inhabitants. The townsmen sent off messengers, to inform the countess what was going forwards; as she had promised them assistance, if they should be besieged.

Upon this, the countess sent every where, that she could think likely, to procure men, and in a short time collected a thousand men in armour, and eight thousand foot soldiers, which she put under the command of the three* knights before mentioned. These knights declared that they would either raise the siege of la Roche-d'errien, or perish in the attempt; and, taking the field, they advanced very near to the army of lord Charles: they took up their quarters on the banks of a river, with the intention of fighting the next day. About midnight sir Thomas Dagworth and sir John Hartwell armed one half of their people, and, setting off in silence, fell upon one of the wings of lord Charles's army, and slew a great number of his men. They remained in this action so long that the whole army was roused and armed; they could not therefore retreat, without encountering the whole of the lord Charles's force. They were surrounded, and so sharply dealt with that they could not withstand the powers of the

* From what follows, one may suppose these three knights were,—sir Thomas Dagworth,—sir John Hartwell,—sir Taneguy du Châtel.

French. Sir Thomas Dagworth was taken prisoner, after having been severely wounded. Sir John Hartwell escaped as well as he was able, with all that he could bring off with him, by making for the river. He related to sir Taneguy du Châtel the ill success of their attack; and they held a council, whether they ought not to return to Hennebon.*

CHAP. CXLI.

THE COMBAT OF LA ROCHE-D'ERRIEN, WHERE THE LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS IS MADE PRISONER.

AT the time they were holding this council, whether to decamp or not, there came to them a knight from the countess, called Garnier lord of Cadoudal, with a hundred men at arms, who had been prevented from coming sooner. When he was informed of the resolution they were about to take of returning, 'Oh come,' said he, 'arm yourselves quickly, and mount your horses; and he

* Our historians relate this affair differently. See Dugdale's Baronage. Sir Thomas Dagworth was not made prisoner, nor wounded; he was the person who advised the second attack, not the lord of Cadoudal, as Froissart relates. The king, for his good conduct, made him his lieutenant-general of the duchy of Brittany; and the ensuing year he was called up to the house of peers.

In the *Histoire de Bretagne*, so often quoted, the account of these engagements is very different, and in part not very much to the honour of sir Thomas Dagworth, if the facts be true. Vol. i. pp. 276, 277.

that

that has no horse, let him follow on foot ; for we will go and look once more at our enemies, who are now so elated that we shall be sure to conquer them.'

Those that had horses soon got themselves in readiness, and set out ; and the foot followed them ; so that, about sun-rise, they came upon the army of the lord Charles, which they found wrapped up in sleep, for they did not imagine they should have any more disturbance.

The English and Bretons began immediately to cut down and destroy tents and pavilions, and to slay all those whom they had thus surprised ; for they had thought themselves so secure, they had not set any watch. Thus were those of the party of lord Charles defeated, and all the barons of Normandy and Brittany that were with him taken prisoners that night. The siege of la Roche-d'errien was raised, and lord Charles conducted to Hennebon. Nevertheless, the towns and fortresses that he had before gained, still held out for him ; for his wife, who called herself duchess of Brittany, undertook most cheerfully to continue the war.

CHAP. CXLII.

THE KING OF FRANCE COLLECTS A GREAT ARMY TO
RAISE THE SIEGE OF CALAIS.

KING Philip of France, who felt that his subjects in Calais must be severely oppressed, commanded all the knights and squires of his realm to rendezvous at Amiens, or near that town, on the feast of Whitsuntide. No one dared to disobey this order, but all were punctual in being there at the appointed time. King Philip kept a solemn court at Amiens, at which were present the duke of Normandy his eldest son, the duke of Orleans his youngest son, Eudes duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Foix, the lord Lewis of Savoy, the lord John of Hainault, the earls of Armagnac, Valentinois, Forêts, and a great many other earls, barons and knights.

When all these noblemen were assembled in Amiens, they held many councils. The king of France was very anxious to have a free passage through Flanders, that he might send through it a part of his army by way of Gravelines, to reinforce the garrison of Calais, and to attack and fight with the English on that side of the town. He sent, therefore, a very magnificent embassy into Flanders, to treat with the Flemings on this subject: but the king of England had so many friends there, that they would not grant him his request. The king, upon this, said, he would then advance as far as Boulogne,

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The king of England, who found he could not conquer Calais, but by famine, ordered a large castle to be constructed of strong timbers, in order to shut up the communication with the sea; and he directed it to be built and embattled in such a manner that it could not be destroyed. He placed it between the town and the sea, and fortified it with all sorts of warlike instruments, and garrisoned it with forty men at arms and two hundred archers, who guarded the harbour and port of Calais so closely, that nothing could come out or go into the town, without being sunk or taken. By this means he more sorely aggrieved the Calaisians, than by any thing he had hitherto done, and sooner brought famine among them.

About this time, the king of England was so active among the Flemings, (with whom, as you have just heard, the king of France wanted to make a treaty) that they, to the amount of a hundred thousand men, marched out of Flanders, and laid siege to the town of Aire*: they burnt all the country round it, as far as St. Venant, Mourville la Gorge, Estelly le Ventre, and a tract of country round Loo, and even as far as the gates of St. Omer† and Terouenne‡.

* A strong town in Artois, generality of Amiens, fourteen leagues from Calais.

† A strong city in Artois, ten leagues from Calais.

‡ An ancient town in Artois, destroyed by Charles V. 1553.

The king of France took up his quarters at Arras*. He sent a large body of men to strengthen his gar-risons in Artois, and in particular fir Charles d'Espagne, his constable, to St. Omer; for the earl of Eu and of Guines, who had been constable, was a prisoner, as I have before related, in England.

The Flemings kept advancing into the country, and gave the French employment enough before they retreated.

When the Flemings were returned, after having made themselves well acquainted with the parts about Loo†, the king of France and his army left Arras, and came to Hesdin‡: the army and baggage occupied three leagues of country. When the king had rested one day at Hesdin, he advanced the next day to Blangy§, where he halted, in order to consider whither he should march next. He was advised to make for that part of the country called la Belune, and accordingly began his march thither, his army following, which amounted, including men of all descriptions, to two hundred thousand. The king and his army passed through the country of Faukenberg||, and came straight to the hill of Sanguet¶, between Calais and Wissant: they marched

* A strong city in Artois, twenty-seven leagues from Calais.

† Loo,—a town to the south of Furnes.

‡ A strong town in Artois, diocese of Arras, thirteen leagues distant from it.

§ Village in Artois, bailiwick of St. Pol.

|| A village in Artois, bailiwick of Aire.

¶ A village in Picardy, government of Calais.

armed,

armed, with banners flying, by moon-light; so that it was a beautiful sight to see their gallant army. When those in Calais perceived them, from the walls, pitching their tents, they thought it had been a new siege.

CHAP. CXLIII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND GUARDS ALL THE PASSES ROUND CALAIS, SO THAT THE KING OF FRANCE CANNOT APPROACH TO RAISE THE SIEGE.

I WILL now relate what the king of England had done, and was doing, when he saw with what a prodigious force the king of France was come to raise the siege of Calais, which had cost him so much money and labour. He knew that the town was so nearly famished, that it could hold out but a very short time: therefore, it would have sorely hurt him, to have been forced at that time to raise it. He considered, that the French could neither approach his army nor the town of Calais but by two roads: the one by the downs, along the sea-shore; the other higher up the country, which, however, was full of ditches and bogs; and there was but one bridge, called the bridge of Nieullet, by which they could be crossed. He posted, therefore, his fleet along the shore, as near as he could to the downs, and provided it with plenty of every warlike engine; so that the French could not pass that way. He sent the earl of Derby, with a sufficient force of men at arms and archers, to guard the

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the

the bridge of Nieullet. The French, therefore, were prevented from advancing thither, unless they attempted crossing the marshes between Sangate and the sea, which were impassable. There was also, nearer to Calais, a high tower, which was guarded by thirty archers from England; and they had fortified it with double ditches, as a stronger defence of the passage over the downs.

When the French had taken up their quarters on the hill of Sangate, those from Tournay, who might amount to about fifteen hundred men, advanced towards this tower: the garrison shot at them, and wounded some; but the men of Tournay crossed the ditches, and reached the foot of the tower with pick-axes and bars. The engagement was then very sharp; and many of the Tournaymen were killed and wounded; but, in the end, the tower was taken and thrown down, and all that were within it put to the sword.

The king of France sent his two marshals, the lord of Beaujeu and the lord of St. Venant, to examine the country, and see where the army could pass, in order to fight with the English: but, after they had well examined all the passes, they returned and told the king there was not any possibility of doing it, but with infinite loss of men. Things remained in this state, that day and the following night; but on the morrow, after the king of France had heard mass, he sent to the king of England the lord Geoffry de Chargny, the lord Eustace de Ribeaumont, sir Guy de Nesle and the lord of Beaujeu, who, as they rode along, observed how strongly
all

all the passes were guarded : they were allowed to proceed freely, for so the king of England had ordered, and praised very much the dispositions of the earl of Derby, who was posted at the bridge of Nieullet, over which they passed.

They rode on, until they came where the king was, whom they found surrounded by his barons and knights : they all four dismounted, and advanced towards the king, with many reverences ; then the lord Eustace de Ribeaumont said, ‘ Sir, the king of France informs you through us, that he is come to the hill of Sangate, in order to give you battle ; but he cannot find any means of approaching you : he therefore wishes you would assemble your council, and he will send some of his, that they may confer together, and fix upon a spot where a general combat may take place.’ The king of England was advised to make his answer as follows : ‘ Gentlemen, I perfectly understand the request you have made me from my adversary, who wrongfully keeps possession of my inheritance, which weighs much upon me. You will therefore tell him from me, if you please, that I have been on this spot near a twelvemonth : this he was well informed of, and, had he chosen it, might have come here sooner ; but he has allowed me to remain so long, that I have expended very large sums of money, and have done so much that I must be master of Calais in a very short time : I am not therefore inclined, in the smallest degree, to comply with his request, or to gratify his convenience, or to abandon what I have gained, or what I have been

been so anxious to conquer. If, therefore, neither he nor his army can pass this way, he must seek out some other road*.

The four noblemen then returned, and were escorted as far as the bridge of Nieullet, and related to the king of France the king of England's answer. Whilst the king of France was devising means to fight with the English, two cardinals, from pope Clement, arrived as ambassadors in the camp.

Immediately on their arrival, they visited each army, and exerted themselves so much that they procured a sort of truce; during which time, four lords of each party were to meet, and endeavour to form a peace. On the part of the king of France, were nominated the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, the lord lewis of Savoy, and sir John of Hainault. The English commissioners were, the earl of Derby, the earl of Northampton, lord Reginald Cobham, and sir Walter Manny†. The two cardinals were the most active persons in this business, going backwards and forwards from one army to the other,

These commissioners were three days together; and various propositions for peace were brought

* By a letter from Edward to the archbishop of Canterbury, which is at length in Avesbury, pp. 162, &c. he says he accepted this challenge, but that the enemy varied in his terms of acceptance, so that they could not agree; and that the French, setting fire to their tents, ran off with precipitation, as if they had been defeated.

† Sir Walter Manny had a summons to parliament among the barons of the realm, from the 21st to the 44th of this king's reign inclusive.—DUGDALE.

forward,

forward, though none took effect. During which time, the king of England was strengthening his army, and making wide and deep ditches on the downs, to prevent the French from surprizing him. When these three days were passed without any treaty being effected, the two cardinals went to St. Omer.

The king of France, perceiving he could not in any way succeed, decamped on the morrow, and took the road to Amiens, where he disbanded all his troops, the men at arms, as well as those sent from the different towns. When the Calesians saw them depart, it gave them great grief. Some of the English fell on their rear, and captured horses, and waggons laden with wine and other things, as well as some prisoners; all which they brought to their camp before Calais.

CHAP. CXLIV.

THE TOWN OF CALAIS SURRENDERS TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

AFTER the departure of the king of France, with his army, from the hill of Sangate, the Calesians saw clearly that all hopes of succour were at an end; which occasioned them so much sorrow and distress, that the hardiest could scarcely support it. They intreated, therefore, most earnestly, the lord John de Vienne, their governor, to mount upon the battlements, and make a sign that he wished to hold a parley. The king of England,
upon

upon hearing this, sent to him sir Walter Manny and lord Basset. When they were come near, the lord de Vienne said to them: 'Dear gentlemen, you who are very valiant knights, know that the king of France, whose subjects we are, has sent us hither to defend this town and castle from all harm and damage: this we have done to the best of our abilities. All hopes of help have now left us, so that we are most exceedingly straitened; and if the gallant king, your lord, have not pity upon us, we must perish with hunger. I therefore intreat, that you would beg of him to have compassion on us, and to have the goodness to allow us to depart in the state we are in, and that he will be satisfied with having possession of the town and castle, with all that is within them, as he will find therein riches enough to content him.' To this sir Walter Manny replied: 'John, we are not ignorant of what the king our lord's intentions are; for he has told them to us: know then, that it is not his pleasure you should get off so; for he is resolved that you surrender yourselves solely to his will, to allow those whom he pleases their ransom, or to put them to death; for the Caleſians have done him so much mischief, and have, by their obstinate defence, cost him so many lives and so much money, that he is mightily enraged.'

The lord de Vienne answered: 'These conditions are too hard for us. We are but a small number of knights and squires, who have loyally served our lord and master, as you would have done, and have suffered much ill and disquiet; but
we

we will endure more than any men ever did in a similar situation, before we consent that the smallest boy in the town should fare worse than the best. I therefore once more intreat you, out of compassion, to return to the king of England, and beg of him to have pity on us: he will, I trust, grant you this favour: for I have such an opinion of his gallantry as to hope, that, through God's mercy, he will alter his mind.' The two lords returned to the king, and related what had passed. The king said, he had no intentions of complying with the request, but should insist that they surrendered themselves unconditionally to his will. Sir Walter replied: 'My lord you may to be blame in this, as you will set us a very bad example; for if you order us to go to any of your castles, we shall not obey you so cheerfully, if you put these people to death; for they will retaliate upon us, in a similar case.' Many barons who were then present supported this opinion. Upon which the king replied: 'Gentlemen, I am not so obstinate as to hold my opinion alone against you all: sir Walter, you will inform the governor of Calais, that the only grace he must expect from me is, that six of the principal citizens of Calais march out of the town, with bare heads and feet, with ropes round their necks, and the keys of the town and castle in their hands. These six persons shall be at my absolute disposal, and the remainder of the inhabitants pardoned.'

Sir Walter returned to the lord de Vienne, who was waiting for him on the battlements, and told him

him all that he had been able to gain from the king. 'I beg of you,' replied the governor, 'that you would be so good as to remain here a little, whilst I go and relate all that has passed to the townsmen; for, as they have desired me to undertake this, it is but proper they should know the result of it.'

He went to the market-place, and caused the bell to be rung: upon which all the inhabitants, men and women, assembled in the town-hall. He then related to them what he had said, and the answers he had received; and that he could not obtain any conditions more favourable, to which they must give a short and immediate answer.

This information caused the greatest lamentations and despair; so that the hardest heart would have had compassion on them; even the lord de Vienne wept bitterly.

After a short time, the most wealthy citizen of the town, by name Eustace de St. Pierre, rose up and said: 'Gentlemen, both high and low, it would be a very great pity to suffer so many people to die through famine, if any means could be found to prevent it; and it would be highly meritorious in the eyes of our Saviour, if such misery could be averted. I have such faith and trust in finding grace before God, if I die to save my townsmen, that I name myself as first of the six.'

When Eustace had done speaking, they all rose up and almost worshipped him: many cast themselves at his feet, with tears and groans. Another citizen, very rich and respected, rose up and said,
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He would be the second to his companion, Eustace: his name was John Daire. After him, James Wifant, who was very rich in merchandize and lands, offered himself, as companion to his two cousins: as did Peter Wifant, his brother. Two others then named themselves, which completed the number demanded by the king of England.

The lord John de Vienne then mounted a small hackney; for it was with difficulty that he could walk; and conducted them to the gate. There was the greatest sorrow and lamentation all over the town; and in such manner were they attended to the gate, which the governor ordered to be opened, and then shut upon him and the six citizens, whom he led to the barriers, and said to sir Walter Manny, who was there waiting for him; ‘I deliver up to you, as governor of Calais, with the consent of the inhabitants, these six citizens; and I swear to you that they were, and are at this day, the most wealthy and respectable inhabitants of Calais. I beg of you, gentle sir, that you would have the goodness to beseech the king, that they may not be put to death.’ ‘I cannot answer for what the king will do with them,’ replied sir Walter; ‘but you may depend, that I will do all in my power to save them.’

The barriers were opened; when these six citizens advanced towards the pavilion of the king; and the lord de Vienne re-entered the town.

When sir Walter Manny had presented these six citizens to the king, they fell upon their knees, and, with uplifted hands, said; ‘Most gallant king,

see before you six citizens of Calais, who have been capital merchants, and who bring you the keys of the castle and of the town. We surrender ourselves to your absolute will and pleasure, in order to save the remainder of the inhabitants of Calais, who have suffered much distress and misery. Condescend therefore, out of your nobleness of mind, to have mercy and compassion upon us.' All the barons, knights and squires, that were assembled there in great numbers, wept at this sight.

The king eyed them with angry looks, (for he hated much the people of Calais, for the great losses he had formerly suffered from them at sea,) and ordered their heads to be stricken off. All present intreated the king, that he would be more merciful to them, but he would not listen to them. Then sir Walter Manny said; 'Ah, gentle king, let me beseech you to restrain your anger: you have the reputation of great nobleness of soul, do not therefore tarnish it by such an act as this, nor allow any one to speak in a disgraceful manner of you. In this instance, all the world will say you have acted cruelly, if you put to death six such respectable persons, who, of their own free will, have surrendered themselves to your mercy, in order to save their fellow-citizens.' Upon this, the king gave a wink, saying, 'Be it so,' and ordered the headman to be sent for; for that the Calaisians had done him so much damage, it was proper they should suffer for it.

Thus

The queen of England, who at that time was very big with child, fell on her knees, and, with tears, said ; ‘ Ah, gentle sir, since I have crossed the sea with great danger, to see you, I have never asked you one favour : now, I most humbly ask ~~as~~ a gift, for the sake of the Son of the blessed Mary, and for your love to me, that you will be merciful to these six men.’ The king looked at her for some time in silence, and then said ; ‘ Ah, lady, I wish you had been any where else than here : you have entreated in such a manner that I cannot refuse you ; I therefore give them to you, to do as you please with them.’ The queen conducted the six citizens to her apartments, and had the halts taken from round their necks, after which she new clothed them, and served them with a plentiful dinner : she then presented each with six nobles, and had them escorted out of the camp in safety*.

CHAP.

* ‘ Froissart alone among his contemporaries relates this remarkable fact : and the simplicity of his style may give even to fable the appearance of truth. Edward was generous : he is here represented as a ferocious conqueror, whom love alone could soften, and who obstinately persists to punish a courage which he ought to have esteemed. The action of these six men, thus devoting themselves for their fellow-citizens, was sufficiently great, to have been trumpeted through all France by the thousand and thousand voices of Fame. This action, however, brilliant as it was, and which the wretches driven out of Calais would have spoken of every where, was unknown in the capital. If it had been otherwise, the Chronicle of St. Denis, and other histories of the time, would not have been silent on the subject ; and yet

CHAP. CXLV.

THE KING OF ENGLAND RE-PEOPLES CALAIS.

THUS had the strong town of Calais been besieged by king Edward of England, as you have heard, about St. John's day, in August, in the year

not one mentions it. Avesbury, an Englishman and contemporary, who is very particular as to all the circumstances of the siege of Calais, is equally silent. Villani alone goes even beyond Froissart; for he says, that Edward intended to hang all the citizens of Calais: and he adds, they were all forced to abandon the town naked, all but their shirts. This falsehood should render the other parts of his recital doubtful.

Froissart, an historian and poet, and who has too often expanded over history the privileges of poetry, has only embroidered a little what truth offered him. When the Calaisians saw the retreat of Philip, they struck the flag which was flying on the great tower: John de Vienne ordered the gates to be opened, and left the town mounted on a small hackney, for he had been wounded. The warriors who accompanied him held their swords pointed to the ground; and many of the citizens followed with halters round their necks, and with their heads and feet bare. Edward kept, as prisoners, the governor, fifteen knights and some citizens; but he did not send them to England, until he had loaded them with presents: he hastened to distribute food among the inhabitants who had remained in the town. We only see, in all these circumstances, the humiliation of the inhabitants, wishing by it to affect the conqueror, and the generosity of the prince.

Froissart supposes that the queen of England was melted into tears at the fate of these citizens, condemned by her husband, and that she humbled herself so as to cast herself at the feet of the inflexible conqueror, to obtain their pardon;

year 1346, and surrendered about the end of August 1347. The king, after he had presented these six citizens to the queen, called to him sir Walter Manny,

don; and we see, some days afterward, this queen, so generous, obtain, for her own profit, the confiscation of the houses of this John Daire, whose life, it is said, she saved. On the other hand, Edward is described as obstinately bent on having the venerable Eustace de St. Pierre beheaded; and we see, shortly after, this same Eustace de St. Pierre overwhelmed, as it were, with gifts. The conqueror gives him houses, considerable pensions, and even deigns to express himself, that he only grants these first favours until he shall have more amply provided for him; they are recompenses by which he acknowledges beforehand the services this citizen may render him, either by keeping good order in the town of Calais, or in watching over its security. Here then is this famous St. Pierre, one day the hero, and the next the complaisant betrayer of his country: one moment the object of the revenge and cruelty of Edward, the next of his confidence and favour.

The interests of this prince forced him to a necessary rigour. He wished to preserve Calais, as it opened to him an entrance into France; and he could not leave their inhabitants too much attached to their own country not to hate its destroyer.

Those who refused to swear fidelity to him were obliged to quit the town, and make room for a new population imported from England; and this St. Pierre, this St. Pierre whose noble courage should have rendered him the most to be dreaded, is one of those whom the conqueror retains, and who is by him charged to overlook the conduct of others.

The English monarch certainly shewed signs of severity. We see, by the letter he wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury, that when Philip, encamped near to Calais, had demanded, as a preliminary of peace, that the inhabitants should have liberty to quit the town with their fortunes, it

Manny, and his two marshals, the earls of Warwick and Stafford, and said to them, ' My lords, here are the keys of the town and castle of Calais : go and take possession of them. You will put into prison the knights you may find there ; but you will send out of the town all the other inhabitants, and all soldiers that may have come there to serve for pay ; as I am resolved to re-people the town with English alone.'

These three noblemen, with only one hundred men, went and took possession of Calais, and, from the gates, sent to prison the lord John de Suric, the lord John de Vienne, the lord John de Bellesbourne, and other knights. They then ordered every sort of arms to be brought and piled in a heap in the market-place. They sent out of the town all ranks of people, retaining only one priest, and two other old men, that were well acquainted

was refused : and when Edward granted to the humiliation of the townsmen what he had refused to Philip, he only detained as prisoners some of the principal citizens ; but detaining them as prisoners is very different from having them put to death before his eyes.

' The king of France did not forsake the miserable Calaisians when they were driven out of their town, but gave them all the offices which were then vacant in his realm, with powers to sell them, or exercise them by deputies. He also granted them landed or other estates that might escheat to the crown. But whether these resources came too late, or were insufficient ; whether the monarch met with contradictions in these acts of beneficence ; it is asserted, that a great number of the Calaisians were reduced to beggary.'

*La France, sous le cinq Premiers Valois,
par M. Levesque, pp. 518, &c.*

with

with the customs and usages of Calais, in order to point out the different properties, and gave directions for the castle to be prepared for lodging the king and queen, and different hôtels for their attendants.

When this had been done, the king and queen mounted their steeds, and rode towards the town, which they entered at the sound of trumpets, drums, and all sorts of warlike instruments. The king remained in it until the queen was brought to bed of a daughter, called Margaret*.

The king gave to sir Walter Manny, lord Stafford, lord Warwick, sir Bartholomew Burghersh, and other knights, very handsome houses in Calais, that they might re-people it: and his intentions were, to send thither, on his return to England, thirty-six substantial citizens, with all their wealth, and to exert himself in such a manner that the inhabitants of the town should be wholly English: which he afterwards accomplished.

The new town and fortifications, which had been built before Calais, were destroyed, as well as the castle upon the harbour, and the great boom which was thrown across was brought into the town.

The king posted different persons to guard the gates, walls and towers of the town; and what had been damaged he got repaired, which, however, was not soon done. The lord John de Vienne and his

* Margaret of Calais was married to the lord John H^{er} earl of Pembroke, but died before her husband.

companions were sent to England : they remained in London about half a year, and then were ransomed.

In my opinion, it was a melancholy thing for the inhabitants of both sexes of the town of Calais, thus to be sent abroad, with their children, from their inheritances, leaving every thing behind ; for they were not allowed to carry off any of their furniture or wealth ; and they received no assistance from the king of France, for whom they had lost their all. They did, however, as well as they were able ; and the greater part went to St. Omer.

The cardinal Guy de Boulogne, who was come into France as ambassador, and was with his cousin king Philip in the city of Amiens, laboured so earnestly, that he obtained a truce between the two kings, and their adherents, which was to last for two years. This truce was agreed to by all parties except the rivals for the duchy of Brittany ; but there the two ladies carried on the war against each other.

The king and queen returned to England ; and sir Aymery de Pavie was appointed governor of the castle of Calais : he was a native of Lombardy, and had been much promoted by the king*.

The king sent the thirty-six substantial citizens, with their wives and families to Calais : their numbers increased daily ; for he multiplied and enlarged

* Sir John Montgomery was appointed governor of the town of Calais, the 8th October 1347, by the king at Calais ; sir John Gattefden was at the same time nominated marshal of the town.—
RYMER.

their

their privileges so much, that many were eager to go there, in order to gain fortunes*.

* An ancient manuscript gives the annexed establishment of the army of king Edward III. in Normandy and before Calais, in the 20th year of his reign, with their several stipends :

				AT PER DIEM.		
				£.	s.	d.
My lord the prince	-	-	-	1	0	0
Bishop of Durham	-	-	-	0	6	8
13 earls, each	-	-	-	0	6	8
44 barons and bannerets	-	-	-	0	4	0
1046 knights	-	-	-	0	2	0
4022 esquires, constables, centenary, and leaders	-	-	-	0	1	0
5104 vintenars and archers on horseback	-	-	-	0	0	6
335 pauncenars						
500 hobblers						
15,480 foot archers	-	-	-	0	0	3
314 masons, carpenters, smiths, engineers, tent-makers, miners, armourers, gunners, and artillery-men,—some at 12d., 10d., 6d., and 3d. per diem.						
4474 Welch foot, of whom 200 vintenars at	-	-	-	0	0	4
The rest at	-	-	-	0	0	2
700 masters, constables, mariners, and pages						
900 ships, barges, balingers, and victuallers						

Sum-total for the aforefaid men, besides lords, £31,294; and for some men from Germany and France, who each receive for their wages 15 florins per month.

The sum total of the wages of war, with the wages of the mariners, from the 4th day of June, in the 20th of the said king Edward, to the 12th day of October in the 21st of the same king, for one year, 131 days, as appears from the book of particular accounts of Walter Wentwaght, then treasurer of the household, entitled, 'Wages of War in Normandy, France, and before Calais,' was £127,201 : 2 : 9d. halfpenny.—*Grose's Military Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 330.

About

About this time, the lord Charles of Blois, who called himself duke of Brittany, was brought prisoner to London. He was sent to the Tower, but not as a close prisoner, where the king of Scotland and the earl of Moray were also confined. He did not, however, long remain there, but, at the intreaties of the queen of England, to whom he was cousin german, was set at liberty on his parole, and rode all over London wherever he pleased; but he was not permitted to lie a night out of the tower, except it was in such places where the royal family were*.

The earl of Eu and of Guines was also in London a prisoner: he was a very gallant knight, and so amiable that he was always well received by the king, queen, barons, and ladies of the court,

CHAP. CXLVI.

A ROBBER, OF THE NAME OF BACON, DOES MUCH MISCHIEF IN LANGUEDOC.

ALL this year of the truce, the two kings remained in peace. But lord William Douglas, and the Scots, who had taken refuge in the forest

* Georges de Lesnen, physician to Charles de Blois, and Oliver de Bignon, his valet de chambre, affirm their master was closely confined for two years: that he was shut up every night in the tower, from whence he only came out to walk in the court of the castle, where the English soldiers insulted him; and that he never mounted a horse during these two years.—*Hist. de Bretagne*, p. 278.

of Jedworth, carried on the war against them, wherever they could meet with

Those in Gascony, Poitou, and Saint French as English, did not observe better, but conquered towns and castles from each other, by force or intrigue, and ruined and destroyed the country day and night. There were frequently gallant deeds of arms performed, with alternate success.

Poor rogues took advantage of such times, and robbed both towns and castles; so that some of them, becoming rich, constituted themselves captains of bands of thieves: there were among them those worth forty thousand crowns. Their method was, to mark out particular towns or castles, a day or two's journey from each other: they then collected twenty or thirty robbers, and, travelling through bye roads in the night-time, entered the town or castle they had fixed on about day-break, and set one of the houses on fire. When the inhabitants perceived it, they thought it had been a body of forces sent to destroy them, and took to their heels as fast as they could. The town of Donzere* was treated in this manner; and many other towns and castles were taken, and afterwards ransomed. Among other robbers in Languedoc, one had marked out the strong castle of Cobourne in Limosin, which is situated in a very strong country. He set off in the night-time with thirty companions, took and destroyed it. He seized also the

* A town of Dauphiné, on the Rhône, election of Montelimart.

lord of Cobourne, whom he imprisoned in his own castle, and put all his household to death. He kept him in prison until he ransomed himself for twenty-four thousand crowns paid down. The robber kept possession of the castle and its dependencies, which he furnished with provisions, and thence made war upon all the country round about. The king of France, shortly afterwards, was desirous of having him near his person: he purchased the castle of him for twenty thousand crowns, appointed him his usher at arms, and heaped on him many other honors. The name of this robber was Bacon, and he was always mounted on handsome horses of a deep roan colour, or on large palfreys, apparelled like an earl, and very richly armed; and this state he maintained as long as he lived.

CHAP. CXLVII.

A PAGE, OF THE NAME OF CROQUART, TURNS ROBBER.

THERE were similar disorders in Brittany; and robbers carried on the like methods of seizing and pillaging different towns and castles, and then selling them back again to the country at a dear rate: by which means many of their leaders became very rich. Among others, there was one of the name of Croquart, who was originally but a poor boy, and had been page to the lord d'Ercle in Holland. When this Croquart arrived at manhood, he had discharge, and went to the wars in Brittany, where

where he attached himself to a man at arms, and behaved very well. It happened, that in some skirmish his master was taken and slain; when, in recompense for his prowess, his companions elected him their leader in the place of his late master: he then made such profit by ransoms, and the taking of towns and castles, that he was said to be worth full forty thousand crowns, not including his horses, of which he had twenty or thirty, very handsome and strong, and of a deep roan colour. He had the reputation of being the most expert man at arms of the country, was chosen to be one of the thirty that engaged against a similar number, and was the most active combatant on the side of the English*.

King

* I have been much surprised that Froissart, who in general is so very minute in relating every transaction, should have omitted an account of this extraordinary engagement. The relation of it which follows is taken from the *Histoire de Bretagne*, vol. i. p. 280.

After the death of sir Thomas Daggeworth, the king appointed sir Walter Bently commander in Brittany. The English being much irritated at the death of Daggeworth, and not being able to revenge themselves on those who slew him, did so on the whole country by burning and destroying it. The marshal de Beaumanoir, desirous of putting a stop to this, sent to Bembro, who commanded in Ploërmel, for a passport, to hold a conference with him. The marshal reprobated the conduct of the English, and high words passed between them; for Bembro had been the companion in arms to Daggeworth. At last one of them proposed a combat of thirty on each side: the place appointed for it was at the halfway oak-tree between Joffelin and Ploërmel; and the day was fixed for the 27th March, the fourth Sunday in Lent 1351.

Beaumanoir

King John of France made him the offer of knighting him, and marrying him very richly, if he would

Beumanoir chose nine knights and twenty-one squires: the first were the lord de Tinteniach, Guy de Rochefort, Yves Charruel, Robin Raguenel, Huon de St. Yvon, Caro de Bodegat, Olivier Arrel, Geoffry du Bois, John Rousselet, &c.

Bembro could not find a sufficient number of English in his garrison; there were but twenty, the remainder were Germans and Bretons. Among them were, sir Robert Knolles, Croquart, Hervé de Lexualen, John Plesanton, Richard and Hugh le Gailart, Jannequin Taillart, Ressefort, Richard de la Lande, Thome-lin Billefort, Hugh Calverly, Robinet Melipars, Yfrai or Isannai, John Ruffel, Dagotne, and a soldier, named Hulbitée, of a very large size, and of great strength, &c.

Bembro first entered the field of battle, and drew up his troop. Beumanoir did the same. Each made a short harangue to his men, exhorting them to support their own honor and that of their nation. Bembro added, there was an old prophecy of Merlin, which promised victory to the English. As they were on the point of engaging, Bembro made a sign to Beumanoir he wished to speak to him, and represented he had engaged in this matter rather imprudently; for such combats ought first to have had the permission of their respective princes. Beumanoir replied, he had been somewhat late in discovering this; and the nobility of Brittany would not return without having proved by battle who had the fairest mistresses. The signal was given for the attack. Their arms were not similar; for each was to choose such as he liked. Billefort fought with a mallet 25lbs. weight, and others with what arms they chose. The advantage, at first, was for the English; as the Bretons had lost five of their men. Beumanoir exhorted them not to mind this, as they stopped to take breath; when, each party having had some refreshments, the combat was renewed. Bembro was killed. On seeing this, Croquart cried out; 'Companions, don't let us think

would quit the English party, and promised to give him two thousand livres a year; but Croquant would never listen to it. It chanced one day, as he was riding a young horse, which he had just purchased for three hundred crowns, and was putting him to his full speed, that the horse ran away with him, and, in leaping a ditch, stumbled into it, and broke his master's neck. Such was the end of Croquant.

CHAP. CXLVIII.

SIR AYMERY DE PAVIE PLOTS WITH SIR GEOFFREY DE CHARGNY, TO SELL THE TOWN OF CALAIS.

AT this time sir Geoffry de Chargny was stationed at St. Omer, to defend the frontier; and, in every thing touching war, he acted as if he had

think of the prophecies of Merlin, but depend on our courage and arms; keep yourselves close together, be firm, and fight as I do.'

Beaumanoir, being wounded, was quitting the field to quench his thirst, when Geoffry du Bois cried out, 'Beaumanoir, drink thy blood, and thy thirst will go off.' This made him ashamed, and return to the battle.

The Bretons at last gained the day, by one of their party breaking on horseback the ranks of the English; the greater part of whom were killed. Knolles, Calverly, and Croquant were made prisoners, and carried to the castle of Joffelin. Tintewiac, on the side of the Bretons, and Croquant on the English, obtained the prize of valour. Such was the issue of this famous combat of Thirty, so glorious to the Bretons, but which decided nothing as to the possession of the duchy of Brittany.

been

been king. He bethought himself, that as Lombards are very poor, and by nature avaricious, he would attempt to recover the town of Calais, by means of Aymery de Pavie the governor: and as, from the terms of the truce, the inhabitants of the towns of St. Omer and Calais might go to each place to sell their different merchandizes, sir Geoffry entered into a secret treaty with sir Aymery, and succeeded so far that he promised to deliver up the town, on receiving twenty thousand crowns.

The king of England, however, got intelligence of it, and sent to Aymery the Lombard, orders to cross the sea immediately, and come to him at Westminster. He obeyed; for he could not imagine that the king knew of his treason, it had been so secretly carried on.

When the king saw the Lombard, he took him aside, and said; ‘Thou knowest that I have entrusted to thee what I hold dearest in this world, except my wife and children, I mean the town and castle of Calais, which thou hast sold to the French, and for which thou deservest death.’ The Lombard flung himself on his knees, and said; ‘Ah, gentle king, have mercy on me, for God’s sake. All that you have said is very true; but there is yet time to break the bargain, for hitherto I have not received one penny.’

The king had brought up this Lombard from a child, and much loved him: he replied, ‘Aymery, it is my wish that you continue on this treaty: you will inform me of the day that you are to deliver up

up Calais; and on these conditions I promise you my pardon.'

The Lombard then returned to Calais, and kept every thing secret. In the mean time, sir Geoffry de Chargny thought himself sure of having Calais, and issued out privately his summons for five hundred lances: the greater part were ignorant where he intended to lead them; for it was only known to a few barons. I do not believe he had even informed the king of France of his plan, as he would have dissuaded him from it, on account of the truce. The Lombard had consented to deliver up the town to him, the last night of the year, with which he made the king of England acquainted by means of his brother*.

CHAP. CXLIX.

THE BATTLE OF CALAIS, BETWEEN THE KING OF ENGLAND, UNDER THE BANNER OF SIR WALTER MANNY, WITH SIR GEOFFRY DE CHARGNY AND THE FRENCH.

WHEN the king of England was informed of this, and knew that the day was for a certainty fixed, he set out from England with three hundred

* Sir Aymery de Pavie was appointed commander of the galleys by the king, dated Westminster, 24th April 1348.—Sir Aymery does not seem to have forfeited Edward's confidence: I therefore ink, with M. Levesque, that Avesbury's account is more probable.

hundred men at arms and six hundred archers. He embarked at Dover, and came so privately to Calais, that no one knew of his being there. He placed his men in ambuscade in the rooms and towers of the castle, and said to sir Walter Manny ; ' Sir Walter, I will that you be chief of this enterprize ; and I and my son will fight under your banner.'

Sir Geoffry de Chargny had left St. Omer the latter end of December, with all the forces he had collected, and arrived near to Calais, about midnight, the last day of the month. He halted there for his rear to come up, and sent forward two of his squires, who found sir Aymery waiting for them : they asked, if it were time for sir Geoffry to advance ? The Lombard answered, that it was. The two squires, upon this, returned to sir Geoffry, who marched his men in battle array over the bridge of Nieullet : he then sent forward twelve of his knights, with one hundred men at arms, to take possession of the castle of Calais ; for he thought, if he had possession of the castle, he should soon be master of the town, considering what strength he had with him ; and, in a few days time, he could have as much more, should there be occasion. He gave orders for twenty thousand crowns to be delivered to sir Odoart de Renty, who was in this

' Dictus vero genuensis, nolens prodere regem Anglorum dominum suum. Aurum tamen sibi promissum cupiens imburse, cum eodem domino Galfrido pacifice loquens, in dolo suis suggestionibus callidis adquevit.'—AVESBURY, p. 180.

expe-

expedition, for him to pay the Lombard: and sir Geoffry remained in the plain in silence, his banner displayed before him, with the rest of his army; for his intention was to enter the town by one of its gates; otherwise he would not enter it at all.

The Lombard had let down the draw-bridge of the castle, and opened one of the gates, through which his detachment entered unmolested; and sir Odoart had given him the twenty thousand crowns in a bag, who said, 'he supposed they were all there; for he had not time to count them, as it would be day immediately.' He flung the bag of crowns into a room, which he locked, and told the French, he would conduct them to the great tower, that they may the sooner be masters of the castle: in saying this, he advanced on, and, pushing back the bolt, the door flew open. In this tower was the king of England with two hundred lances, who sallied forth, with swords and battle-axes in their hands, crying out, 'Manny, Manny! to the rescue: what, do these Frenchmen think to conquer the castle of Calais, with such a handful of men!'

The French saw that no defence could save them; so they surrendered themselves prisoners; and scarcely any of them were wounded. They were made to enter this tower, whence the English had sallied, and there shut in.

The English quitted the castle, and, forming themselves in array, mounted their horses, for they knew the French were mounted, and made for the gate leading to Boulogne. Sir Geoffry was there with his banner displayed: his arms were three

escutcheons argent on a field gules; and he was very impatient to be the first that should enter Calais. He said to those knights who were near him, that 'if this Lombard delayed opening the gate, they should all die with cold.' 'In God's name,' replied sir Pepin de Werre, 'these Lombards are a malicious sort of people; perhaps he is examining your florins, lest there should be any false ones, and to see if they be right in number.'

During this conversation, the king of England and his son advanced, under the banner of sir Walter Manny. There were many other banners also there, such as the earl of Suffolk's, the lord Stafford's, lord John Mountacute's, brother to the earl of Salisbury, the lord John Beauchamp's, the lord Berkeley's, the lord de la Ware: all these were barons, having banners: and no more than these were in this expedition.

The great gates were soon opened, and they all sallied out: when the French saw this, and heard the cries of 'Manny, to the rescue!' they found they had been betrayed; and sir Geoffry said to those around him, 'Gentlemen, if we fly, we shall lose all: it will be more advantageous for us to fight valiantly, in the hopes the day may be ours.' 'By St. George,' said some of the English, who were near enough to hear it, 'you speak truth; evil befall him who thinks of flying.' They then retreated a little, and dismounted, driving their horses away, to avoid being trampled on. When the king of England saw this, he halted the banner under which he was, and said; 'I would have the
men

men drawn up here in order of battle : and let a good detachment be sent towards the bridge of Nieullet ; for I have heard that there is posted a large body of French, on horseback and on foot.'

Six banners and three hundred archers left his army, and made for the bridge of Nieullet, where they found the lord Moreau de Fiennes, and the lord of Crequi, who guarded it. There was also posted between the bridge and Calais, the cross-bowmen from St. Omer and Aire, who had that day sharp work : more than six hundred were slain or drowned ; for they were immediately discomfited, and pursued to the river : it was then scarcely day-break.

The knights of Picardy maintained this post some time ; and many gallant actions were performed ; but the English kept increasing from the town, when, on the contrary, the French fell off, so that when they found they could not longer keep the bridge, those that had horses mounted them, and betook themselves to flight. The English immediately pursued them, and many were overthrown : but those that were well mounted escaped ; among them were the lords de Fiennes, de Crequi, de Sempy, de Lonchinleish, and the lord of Namur. Many were taken through their own hardiness, who might otherwise have saved themselves. When it was broad day-light, that each could see the other, some knights and squires collected themselves together, and vigorously attacked the English, insomuch that several of the French made good prisoners, that brought them much profit.

We will now speak of the king of England, who was there incognito, under sir Walter Manny's banner. He advanced with his men on foot, to meet the enemy, who were formed in close order with their pikes, shortened to five feet, planted out before them. The first attack was very sharp and severe. The king singled out sir Eustace de Ribeaumont, who was a strong and hardy knight: he fought a long time marvellously well with the king; so that it was a pleasure to see them; but, by the confusion of the engagement, they were separated; for two large bodies met, where they were fighting, and forced them to break off their combat.

On the side of the French, there was excellent fighting by sir Geoffry de Charny, sir John de Landas, sir Hector and sir Gavin Ballieul, and others; but they were all surpassed by sir Eustace de Ribeaumont, who that day struck the king twice down on his knees: at last, however, he was obliged to surrender his sword to the king, saying, 'Sir knight, I surrender myself your prisoner, for the honour of the day must fall to the English.' All that belonged to sir Geoffry de Charny were either slain or captured: among the first were sir Henry du Bois, and sir Pepin de Werre: sir Geoffry and the rest were taken prisoners. The last that was taken, and who in that day had excelled all, was sir Eustace de Ribeaumont.

This business was finished under the walls of Calais, the last day of December, towards morning, in the year of grace 1348.

CHAP. CL.

THE KING OF ENGLAND PRESENTS A CHAPLET OF
PEARLS TO SIR EUSTACE DE RIBEAUMONT.

WHEN the engagement was over, the king returned to the castle in Calais, and ordered all the prisoners to be brought before him. The French then knew for the first time that the king of England had been there in person, under the banner of sir Walter Manny.

The king said, he would, this evening of the new year, entertain them all at supper, in the castle. When the hour for supper was come, the tables spread, and the king and his knights dressed in new robes, as well as the French, who, notwithstanding they were prisoners, made good cheer (for the king wished it should be so) : the king seated himself at table, and made those knights do the same around him, in a most honourable manner.

The gallant prince of Wales, and the knights of England, served up the first course, and waited on their guests. At the second course, they went and seated themselves at another table, where they were served and attended on very quietly.

When supper was over, and the tables removed, the king remained in the hall, among the English and French knights, bareheaded, except a chaplet of fine pearls, which was round his head. He conversed with all of them ; but, when he came to sir Geoffry de Chargny, his countenance altered, and

looking at him askance, he said, ' Sir Geoffry, I have but little reason to love you, when you wished to seize from me by stealth, last night, what had given me so much trouble to acquire, and has cost me such sums of money. I am, however, rejoiced, to have caught you thus in attempting it. You were desirous of gaining it cheaper than I did, and thought you could purchase it for twenty thousand crowns; but, through God's assistance, you have been disappointed.' He then passed on, and left sir Geoffry standing, without having a word to say for himself.

When he came to sir Eustace de Ribeaumont, he assumed a cheerful look, and said, with a smile; ' Sir Eustace, you are the most valiant knight in Christendom, that I ever saw attack his enemy, or defend himself. I never yet found any one in battle, who, body to body, had given me so much to do as you have done this day. I adjudge to you the prize of valour, above all the knights of my court, as what is justly due to you.' The king then took off the chaplet, which was very rich and handsome, and, placing it on the head of sir Eustace, said; ' Sir Eustace, I present you with this chaplet, as being the best combatant this day, either within or without doors; and I beg of you to wear it this year, for love of me. I know that you are lively and amorous, and love the company of ladies and damsels; therefore, say wherever you go, that I gave it to you. I also give you your liberty, free of ransom; and you may set out to-morrow, if you please, and go whither you will.'

In

In this same year, 1349, king Philip of France married his second wife, at Brie-comte-Robert*, on Tuesday the 29th day of January. She was the lady Blanche, daughter of Philip king of Navarre, who had died in Spain, was very well beloved, and about eighteen years old.

On the 19th of the following February, which was Shrovetide, the duke of Normandy, eldest son of the king of France, was married at St. Genevieve, near St. Germain en Laye, to his second wife, Jane countess of Boulogne: she was the widow of the lord Philip, son of the duke of Burgundy, who died before Aiguillon, 1346. The countess was the daughter of earl William of Boulogne, by the daughter of Louis earl of Eyreux, and held in her own right the duchy of Burgundy, the counties of Artois, Boulogne, and Auvergne, with many others.

A D D I T I O N S,

FROM TWO MSS. IN THE HAFOD LIBRARY, NOT IN ANY OF THE PRINTED COPIES.

YOU have heard related how the young earl Lewis of Flanders had been betrothed to the lady Isabella, daughter of king Edward of England, and that afterwards he had escaped from Flanders into France, where he was joyfully received by the

* A market-town of Brie-Française, diocese and election of Paris, seven leagues from Paris.

king and his barons, who told him he had acted wisely, for that such forced marriages were of no avail; and the king added, that he would otherwise ally him more to his honor and profit. Things remained in this state for about a year.

Duke John of Brabant was not much displeased at this; for he was desirous of marrying the young count of Flanders to his second daughter, the eldest being countess of Hainault.

He sent ambassadors to king Philip, to intreat he would consent to the match between the count of Flanders and his daughter; that, if he consented, he would in future be his good neighbour, and that neither he nor any of his children would ever bear arms again for the king of England.

The king of France, who knew the duke of Brabant to be a powerful lord, that could hurt or assist him according to his pleasure, listened to his proposal in preference to any other, and let the duke know, that if he could prevail on the states of Flanders to consent to this marriage, he would be agreeable to it, and would press it on the earl. The duke, in his answer, engaged for the consent of the states. He instantly sent able commissioners to the principal towns, to negotiate with them this marriage: he treated, as I may say, sword in hand; for he gave them to understand, that if they married the young earl otherwise, he would instantly declare war against them; and on the contrary, if they complied with his desire, he would unite himself strongly with them, and defend them against any other lords.

The

The councils of the principal towns heard with attention the proposals and promises the duke of Brabant, their neighbour, made them. They knew their young lord was not within their power, but under the direction of the king of France and the lady his mother, and that his heart was entirely French. Upon mature consideration therefore, they thought, that as the duke of Brabant was a very powerful prince, and of great enterprise, it would be much more advantageous to conclude a match with him than with any one else; for by it they would enjoy peace, and have their lord again among them, which they very much desired. The business was so well arranged that the young earl of Flanders was brought to the city of Arras, whither the duke of Brabant sent his eldest son, the lord Godfrey earl of Mons, the earl of Los, and all his council. The principal towns of Flanders sent thither also their magistrates. Many conferences were held; and the young earl and his countrymen engaged for his marriage with the daughter of the duke of Brabant, provided it were agreeable to the church. This had been already secured, and the dispensation from the pope was arrived. Not long after this, the young earl came to Flanders, where all due homage was paid him; and greater powers were granted to him than even his father, or any of his predecessors had enjoyed.

The earl married the duke's daughter; and, by the marriage-articles, the towns of Mechlin and Antwerp were to revert to the earl of Flanders, after the death of the duke; but this treaty was so secretly

secretly managed, that few heard of it. The duke gave so much to his daughter, that great wars were the consequence between Flanders and Brabant in after times, as you will hear : but, as this is not as yet the subject-matter of my history, I shall briefly state, that the king of England was sorely vexed with all parties for this marriage : with the duke of Brabant, because he was his cousin-german, and had carried off from his daughter the heir of Flanders, to whom she had been betrothed ; with the earl, because he had broken his engagement with him, respecting his daughter. The duke sent, however, very prudent and handsome apologies ; as did afterwards the earl of Flanders.

ABOUT this period, there was much ill will between the king of England and the Spaniards, on account of some infractions and pillages committed at sea by the latter. It happened at this season, that the Spaniards who had been in Flanders with their merchandise, were informed they would not be able to return home, without meeting the English fleet. The Spaniards did not pay much attention to this intelligence : however, after they had disposed of their goods, they amply provided their ships from Sluys with arms and artillery, and all such archers, cross-bowmen and foldiers as were willing to receive pay.

The king of England hated these Spaniards greatly, and said publicly, ' We have for a long time

time spared these people ; for which they have done us much harm ; without amending their conduct : on the contrary, they grow more arrogant ; for which reason they must be chastised as they re-pass our coasts.' His lords readily assented to this proposal, and were eager to engage the Spaniards. The king therefore issued a special summons to all gentlemen who at that time might be in England, and left London.

He went to the coast of Suffex, between Southampton and Dover, which lies opposite to Ponthieu and Dieppe, and kept his court in a monastery, whither the queen also came. At this time and place, that gallant knight, lord Robert de Namur, who was lately returned from beyond sea, joined the king: he came just in time to be one of this armament ; and the king was exceedingly pleased at his arrival. On finding that he was not too late to meet the Spaniards on their return, the king, with his nobles and knights, embarked on board his fleet ; and he was never attended by so numerous a company in any of his former expeditions at sea.

This same year the king created his cousin, Henry earl of Derby, duke of Lancaster, and the baron of Stafford an earl, who were now both with him. The prince of Wales and John earl of Richmond were likewise on board the fleet: the last was too young to bear arms, but he had him on board because he much loved him. There were also in this fleet, the earls of Arundel, Northampton, Hereford, Suffolk, and Warwick, the lord Reginald.

Reginald Cobham, sir Walter Manny, sir Thomas Holland, sir Lewis Beauchamp, sir James Audley, sir Bartholomew Burghersh, the lords Percy, Mowbray, Neville, Roos, de *Difort*, de *Gastrode*, de *Berder*, and many others. There were four hundred knights; nor was he ever attended by a larger company of great lords. The king kept the sea with his vessels ready prepared for action, and to wait for the enemy, who was not long before he appeared. He kept cruising for three days between Dover and Calais.

WHEN the Spaniards had completed their cargoes, and laden their vessels with linen cloths, and whatever they imagined would be profitable in their own country, they embarked on board their fleet at Sluys. They knew they should meet the English, but were indifferent about it; for they had marvellously provided themselves with all sorts of warlike ammunition; such as bolts for cross-bows, cannons, and bars of forged iron to throw on the enemy, in hopes, with the assistance of great stones, to sink him.

When they weighed anchor, the wind was favourable for them: there were forty large vessels of such a size, and so beautiful, it was a fine sight to see them under sail. Near the top of their masts were small castles, full of flints and stones, and a soldier to guard them; and there also was the flag-staff,

staff, from whence fluttered their streamers in the wind, that it was pleasant to look at them. If the English had a great desire to meet them, it seemed as if the Spaniards were still more eager for it, as will hereafter appear. The Spaniards were full ten thousand men, including all sorts of soldiers they had enlisted when in Flanders: this made them feel sufficient courage not to fear the combat with the king of England, and whatever force he might have at sea.

Intending to engage the English fleet, they advanced with a favourable wind until they came opposite to Calais. The king of England being at sea, had very distinctly explained to all his knights the order of battle he would have them follow: he had appointed the lord Robert de Namur to the command of a ship called *La Salle du Roi*, on board of which was all his household. The king posted himself in the fore part of his own ship: he was dressed in a black velvet jacket, and wore on his head a small hat of beaver, which became him much. He was that day, as I was told by those who were present, as joyous as he ever was in his life, and ordered his minstrels to play before him a German dance which sir John Chandos had lately introduced. For his amusement, he made the same knight sing with his minstrels, which delighted him greatly. From time to time he looked up to the castle on his mast, where he had placed a watch to inform him when the Spaniards were in sight. Whilst the king was thus amusing himself with his knights, who were happy in seeing him so gay, the

the watch, who had observed a fleet, cried out, 'Ho, I spy a ship, and it appears to me to be a Spaniard.' The minstrels were silenced; and he was asked if there were more than one: soon after he replied, 'Yes; I see two, three, four, and so many that, God help me, I cannot count them.' The king and his knights then knew they must be the Spaniards. The trumpets were ordered to sound, and the ships to form a line of battle for the combat; as they were aware that, since the enemy came in such force, it could not be avoided. It was, however, rather late, about the hour of vespers. The king ordered wine to be brought, which he and his knights drank; when each fixed their helmets on their heads. The Spaniards now drew near: they might easily have refused the battle, if they had chosen it, for they were well freighted, in large ships, and had the wind in their favour. They could have avoided speaking with the English, if they had willed, but their pride and presumption made them act otherwise. They disdained to sail by, but bore instantly down on them, and commenced the battle.

WHEN the king of England saw from his ship their order of battle, he ordered the person who managed his vessel, saying, 'Lay me alongside the Spaniard who is bearing down on us; for I will have a tilt with him.' The master dared not disobey the king's order, but laid his ship ready for the

the Spaniard, who was coming full sail. The king's ship was large and stiff; otherwise she would have been sunk, for that of the enemy was a great one, and the shock of their meeting was more like the crash of a torrent or tempest: the rebound caused the castle in the king's ship to encounter that of the Spaniard; so that the mast of the latter was broken, and all in the castle fell with it into the sea, when they were drowned. The English vessel, however, suffered, and let in water, which the knights cleared, and stopped the leak, without telling the king any thing of the matter. Upon examining the vessel he had engaged lying before him, he said; 'Grapple my ship with that; for I will have possession of her.' His knights replied; 'Let her go her way: you shall have better than her.' That vessel sailed on, and another large ship bore down, and grappled with chains and hooks to that of the king. The fight now began in earnest, and the archers and cross-bows on each side were eager to shoot and defend themselves.

The battle was not in one place, but in ten or twelve at a time. Whenever either party found themselves equal to the enemy, or superior, they instantly grappled, when grand deeds of arms were performed. The English had not any advantage; and the Spanish ships were much larger and higher than their opponents, which gave them a great superiority in shooting and casting stones and iron bars on board their enemy, which annoyed them exceedingly. The knights on-board the king's ship were in danger of sinking, for the leak still admitted

water: this made them more eager to conquer the vessel they were grappled to: many gallant deeds were done; and at last they gained the ship, and flung all they found in it overboard, having quitted their own ship. They continued the combat against the Spaniards, who fought valiantly, and whose cross-bowmen shot such bolts of iron as greatly distressed the English.

THIS sea-fight, between the English and Spaniards, was well and hardly fought: but, as night was coming on, the English exerted themselves to do their duty well, and discomfit their enemies. The Spaniards, who are used to the sea, and were in large ships, acquitted themselves to the utmost of their power. The young prince of Wales and his division were engaged a-part: his ship was grappled by a great Spaniard, when he and his knights suffered much; for she had so many holes, that the water came in very abundantly, and they could not by any means stop the leaks, which gave the crew fears of her sinking, they therefore did all they could to conquer the enemy's ship, but in vain; for she was very large, and excellently well defended.

During this danger of the prince, the duke of Lancaster came near, and, as he approached, saw he had the worst of the engagement, and that his crew had too much on their hands, for they were baling out water: he therefore fell on the other
side

side of the Spanish vessel, with which he grappled, shouting, 'Derby, to the rescue!' The engagement was now very warm, but did not last long, for the ship was taken, and all the crew thrown overboard, not one being saved. The prince, with his men, instantly embarked on board the Spaniard; and scarcely had they done so when his own vessel sunk, which convinced them of the imminent danger they had been in.

THE engagement was in other parts well contested by the English knights, who exerted themselves, and need there was of it, for they found those who feared them not. Late in the evening, the *Salle du Roi*, commanded by lord Robert de Namur, was grappled by a large Spaniard, and the fight was very severe. The Spaniards were determined to gain this ship; and, the more effectually to succeed in carrying her off, they set all their sails, took advantage of the wind, and, in spite of what lord Robert and his crew could do, towed her out of the battle: for the Spaniard was of a more considerable size than the lord Robert's ship, and therefore she more easily conquered. As they were thus towed, they passed near the king's ship, to whom they cried out, 'Rescue the *Salle du Roi*,' but were not heard; for it was dark; and, if they were heard, they were not rescued. The Spaniards would have carried away with ease this prize, if it had not been for a gallant act of one Hanequin, a servant

servant to the lord Robert, who, with his drawn sword on his wrist, leaped on board the enemy, ran to the mast, and cut the large cable which held the main sail, by which it became unmanageable; and with great agility, he cut other four principal ropes, so that the sails fell on the deck, and the course of the ship was stopped. Lord Robert, seeing this, advanced with his men, and, boarding the Spaniard sword in hand, attacked the crew so vigorously, that all were slain or thrown overboard, and the vessel won.

I CANNOT speak of every particular circumstance of this engagement. It lasted a considerable time; and the Spaniards gave the king of England and his fleet enough to do. However, at last, victory declared for the English: the Spaniards lost fourteen ships; the others saved themselves by flight*.

When

* ‘ Anno Gratiae millesimo trecentissimo quinquagesimo, qui est annus regni regis Edwardi à conquestu tertii viceffimus quartus, commissum est bellum navale inter Anglicos et Hispanos quarto calendas Septembris. Edwardus nempe rex Angliæ cum paucis navibus obviavit navigio Hispaniæ, viris bellicosus refertissimo juxta Winchelsea. Et factò atrocissimo conflictu, multi læsi sunt ex utraque parte. Nam tam fervens erat bellum, tam crebra vulnera inflicta ex omni parte, quod ab illo prælio vix aliquis evasit illæsus. Demum (Deo volente) victoria cessit Anglis. Captæ sunt ibi igitur 26 naves magnæ, reliquis submersis, vel in fugam versis. In hoc conflictu dum Hispani timidi et superbi, atque
fidentes

When it was completely over, and the king saw he had none to fight with, he ordered his trumpets to sound a retreat, and made for England. They anchored at Rye and Winchelsea a little after night-fall, when the king, the prince of Wales, the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Richmond and other barons disembarked, took horses in the town, and rode to the mansion where the queen was, scarcely two English leagues distant. The queen was mightily rejoiced on seeing her lord and children: she had suffered that day great affliction from her doubts of success; for her attendants had seen from the hills of the coast the whole of the battle, as the weather was fine and clear, and had told the queen, who was very anxious to learn the number of the enemy, that the Spaniards had forty large ships: she was therefore much comforted by their safe return.

The king, with those knights who had attended him, passed the night in revelry with the ladies, conversing of arms and amours. On the morrow the greater part of his barons, who had been in this engagement, came to him: he greatly thanked them all for the services they had done him, before he dismissed them, when they took their leave, and returned every man to his home.

fidentes in robore suo et strenuitate, dedignantur se reddere jussu regis Edwardi, omnes miserabiliter perierunt; alii ferro cæsi, alii aquis submersi.' THO. WALSINGHAM, *Hist. Angliæ*, p. 169.

Stowe says, that 'Edward returned triumphant, but bewailing the loss of sir Richard Goldesborough.'—Page 250.

YOU have before heard how Aymery de Pavie had plotted to surrender the town and castle of Calais, for a sum of florins, to the French, and how it befel them: that sir Geoffry de Chargny and the knights with him were made prisoners, and carried to England, whence they ransomed themselves as soon as they could pay the money, and returned to France. It happened, that, during the time he was at St. Omer by order of the king of France, he heard that Aymery de Pavie was at a castle in the country near Calais, called Fretun, which the king of England had given him. The Italian lived there at his ease with a beautiful Englishwoman whom he had brought thither as his mistress; and he fancied the French had forgotten his courtesy to them: but that was not the case, as you shall hear. As soon as sir Geoffry received this information, he secretly inquired from those of the country who knew this castle, if it could easily be taken: they assured him it might; for that sir Aymery lived there without any suspicion, and without guards or watch, thinking himself as safe as if he were in London or Calais. Sir Geoffry did not let the matter sleep, but, collecting privately a band of men at arms, left St. Omer in an evening, taking with him the cross-bows that were quartered there, and marched all night, when, at day-break, he arrived at the castle of Fretun. They instantly surrounded the castle, as
it

it was not of any size, and, having entered the ditch, passed through. The servants, awakened by the noise, ran to their master, who was asleep, and said; ‘ My lord, rise instantly; for the castle is surrounded by a large body of men at arms, who are forcing their way into it.’ Aymery was much alarmed, and rose as speedily as he could; but notwithstanding his haste, he could not arm himself before his court-yard was filled with soldiers. He was thus made prisoner with his mistress; but nothing was pillaged in the castle, on account of the existing truce between France and England; and besides sir Geoffry only wanted to take Aymery. He was greatly pleased with his success, and carried sir Aymery to St. Omer, where he did not suffer him to languish in prison, but had him put to death, with much cruelty, in the market-place of St. Omer, in the presence of the knights and common people of the country, who had been sent for thither. Thus died sir Aymery de Pavie; but his mistress escaped, for his death freed her, and she afterwards attached herself to a squire of France.

THIS year of our Lord 1349, there came from Germany, persons who performed public penitencies by whipping themselves with scourges having iron hooks, so that their backs and shoulders were torn: they chaunted also, in a piteous manner, canticles of the nativity and sufferings of our Saviour,

and could not, by their rules, remain in any town more than one night : they travelled in companies of more or less in number, and thus journeyed through the country performing their penitence for thirty-three days, being the number of years JESUS CHRIST remained on earth, and then returned to their own homes. These penitencies were thus performed, to intreat the Lord to restrain his anger, and withhold his vengeance; for, at this period, an epidemic malady ravaged the earth, and destroyed a third part of its inhabitants. They were chiefly done in those countries the most afflicted, whither scarcely any could travel, but were not long continued, as the church set itself against them. None of these companies entered France : for the king had strictly forbidden them, by desire of the pope, who disapproved of such measures, by sound and sensible reasons, but which I shall pass over. All clerks, or persons holding livings, that countenanced them were excommunicated, and several were forced to go to Rome to purge themselves.

About this time, the Jews throughout the world were arrested and burnt, and their fortunes seized by those lords under whose jurisdictions they had lived, except at Avignon, and the territories of the church dependent on the pope. Each poor Jew, when he was able to hide himself, and arrive in that country, esteemed himself safe. It was prophesied, that for one hundred years people were to come, with iron scourges, to destroy them : and this would now have been the case, had not these penitents

tents been checked in their mad career, as has been related*.

CHAP.

* Here end the additions. I cannot help supposing there must have been more; for Froissart would certainly have particularly mentioned this sad calamity of the plague, that afflicted all Europe, and he scarcely notices it.

It began in the spring of the year 1348, and came from Asia. It destroyed in some parts the fourth, in others the third of their population: sometimes it left not the tenth part. It carried off in Paris from 40 to 50,000, and in the little town of St. Denis 1600. There were sometimes, at Paris, 800 burials in a day: and in the single church-yard of the Charter-house, London, were buried 200 daily. It broke every bond of attachment asunder: servants fled from their masters, wives from their husbands, and children from their parents. There were no laws in force: the greatest excesses were committed; and, when the contagion was at an end, morals were found more corrupted.

I refer my readers to the different chronicles of the times, for more particular information. Lord Hailes dates its ravages in 1349, and says; 'The *great pestilence*, which had long desolated the continent, reached Scotland. The historians of all countries speak with horror of this pestilence. It took a wider range, and proved more destructive than any calamity of that nature known in the annals of mankind. Barnes, pp. 428—441, has collected the accounts given of this pestilence by many historians; and hence he has, unknowingly, furnished materials for a curious inquiry into the populousness of Europe in the fourteenth century.'

The same cause which brought on this corruption of manners produced a new species of fanaticism. There appeared in Germany, England and Flanders numerous confraternities of penitents, who, naked to the girdle, dirty and filthy to look at, flogged themselves in the public squares, chaunting a ridiculous canticle. Underneath are two stanzas of their canticle, consisting of nineteen in the whole. It is entire in a chro-

CHAP. CLI.

THE DEATH OF KING PHILIP, AND CORONATION OF
HIS SON KING JOHN.

IN the beginning of August, in the year 1350,
Raoul de Cahours*, and many other knights,
and squires, to the number of one hundred and
twenty

chronicle belonging to M. Brequigny, which is the only one supposed to possess it.

‘ Or avant, entre nous tuit frere,
Battons nos charoignes bien fort,
En remembrant la grant misere
De Dieu, et sa piteuse mort,
Qui fut pris de la gent amere,
Et venduz, et traiz à tort,
Et battu sa char vierge et claire ;
On nom de ce, battons plus fort.

O Roiz des roiz, char precieuse,
Dieuz Pere, Filz, Sains Esperis,
Vos saintifine char glorieuse,
Fut pendue en crois par Juïs
Et la fut grief et doloureuse :
Quar vo douz saint sanc beneic
Fit la croix vermeille et hideuse,
Loens Dieu et battons noz pis.’

M. LEVESQUE, tom. i. pp. 530, 531.

* Raoul de Cahours was of the English party, but gained over by the magnificent promises of king John. He first changed his side at this battle, when he fought with the commander in Brittany, who had only one hundred men, and might have gained the day, if he had not been too rash. King John, as a recompense, gave him 24,000 livres, and allowed him the possession of the lands of Beauvoir, the island of

twenty men at arms, or thereabouts, combated with the commander for the king of England in Brittany, called sir Thomas Daggeworth, before the castle of Aurai. Sir Thomas* and all his men were slain, to the amount of about one hundred men at arms.

On the 22d of August in the same year, king Philip of France departed this life at Nogent le Roi†, and was carried to Nôtre Dame in Paris. On the Thursday following, his body was buried at St. Denis, on the left hand of the great altar; his bowels were interred at the Jacobins at Paris, and his heart at the convent of the Carthusians at Bourgfontaines in Valois.

The 26th day of September ensuing, John, eldest son of king Philip, was crowned king, on a Sunday, at Rheims. His wife, queen Jane, was also crowned at the same time.

The king, on this occasion, made many knights: his eldest son, the dauphine of Vienne; his second son, Louis earl of Alençon; the earl of Estampes; the lord John d'Artois; Philip duke of Orleans,

of Chauvet, and other estates which he had seized from Jane de Belleville. Cahours engaged, in return, to deliver into the king's hands Vaunes, Guerrande, Brest, Hennebon, &c.—*Hist. de Bretagne.*

Raoul de Cahours was made commander in Poitou, by writ of privy seal, dated Eltham, 17th January 1347.—
RYMER.

The 4th July 1348, the king grants him £1000. a-year, in Poitou, besides other advantages.—*Idem.*

* Dugdale, in his Baronage, says he was slain through the treachery of the French.

† A town in Beauce, on the river Eure, five leagues from Chartres.

brother

brother to the king; the duke of Burgundy; son of the queen by her first marriage with the lord Philip of Burgundy; the earl of Dammartin, and many others. The king set out from Rheims on the Monday, and returned to Paris, by way of Laon, Soissons and Senlis. The king and queen made their public entry into Paris on a Sunday, the 17th of October. There were great feasts, which lasted the whole week. The king remained at Paris at the hôtel de Nesle, or at the palace, until near Martinmas, when he assembled his parliament.

On Tuesday, the 16th day of November following, Raoul, earl of Eu and Guignes, constable of France, who was but lately returned from his prison in England, was arrested, by orders from the king, in the hôtel de Nesle*, where king John resided, by the provost of Paris, and was detained in confinement in his hôtel, until the next Thursday; when, about the hour of matins, he was there beheaded, in the presence of the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Armagnac, the earl of Montfort, the lord John of Boulogne, the earl of Rueil, and many other knights, who attended the execution by command of the king, at that time in his palace. He was thus executed, for great treasons, of which he had confessed himself guilty to the duke of Athens

* The hôtel de Nesle is now demolished; and its situation would be unknown, were it not for a curious memoir respecting it, in the xxiii^d vol. of the *Memoires de l'Académie*, by M. Bonamy; to which I refer the reader.

and some others. His body was buried in the Augustins at Paris, within the walls of the monastery, by permission of the king, out of respect to the friends of the constable.*

In the month of the ensuing January, Charles of Spain, to whom the king had given the earldom of Angoulême, was appointed by him constable of France.

The lord Guy de Nesle, marshal of France, had an engagement, on the 1st of April, in Saintonge, with the English and Gascons: the army of the marshal was defeated: he himself was taken prisoner, with his brother the lord William, lord Arnold d'Andreghen, and many others.

On Palm Sunday, which was the 10th of April 1351, Giles Rigault de Rouffy, who was abbot of

* *De Dolo Regis Franciæ Johannis, &c.*

Comes de Ewe, constabularius Franciæ, qui in conflictu inter Anglicos & Normanos, anno Domini millesimo. cccmo. XLVto. apud Cadamum habitus, captus fuit, & tunc missus in Angliam, per III. annos & amplius ibidem remanserat sub carcerali custodia mancipatus, circiter festum Sancti Michaelis, anno Domini millesimo. cccmo. LImo. licenciatus per regem Anglorum loca sua in partibus Franciæ visitare, Parisios venit ad novum Franciæ regem Johannem, utique statura magnum & discretum, minus tamen graciosum, & fama publica referente libidine plenum, ab uxore propria divertentem, fornicariisque tam secularibus quam religiosis etiam incestuose turpiter adhærentem, à paucis suis magnatibus vel plebeis dilectum. Tunc idem rex, se amicum ipsius comitis simulans, & pacifice sibi loquens, convivavit eundem. Sed statim nocte sequenti, misso spiculatore cum quibusdam satellitibus ad hospitium dicti comitis, ipsum comitem fecit subito decollari.—
AVESBURY, p. 187.

St. Denis, and lately made a cardinal, was presented with the red hat, in presence of king John in his palace, by the bishops of Laon and of Paris. This had never been done before; but the pope had directed it to be so, by a bull addressed to these bishops.

In the following September, the French recovered the town of St. Jean d'Angely, of which the English had kept possession for five years. It was surrendered by the garrison without striking a blow, and merely through want of provisions.

In the month of October, the fraternity of the noble house of St. Ouen*, near Paris, was established by order of the king. All those who were of this order wore a star on their hoods, and another on the front of their mantles†.

This year, there was the greatest scarcity of provisions all over the kingdom of France ever known in

* St. Ouen is a small town in the isle of France, diocese and election of Paris.

† Barnes says, that on the 8th September 1351, king John revived the almost obsolete order of the Star, in imitation of the Garter; and the first chapter of it was held at his palace of St. Ouen. At first there were but eighteen knights; the rest were added at different chapters.

They wore a bright star on the crest of their helmets, and one pendant at their necks; and the same was embroidered on their mantles.

The day fixed for the annual celebration of this order was the Epiphany, and the star chosen for the emblem.

The eighteen first knights were :

John king of France, sovereign.

Philip duke of Orleans, his only brother.

in the memory of man. Wheat was sold at Paris for eight livres parisis* the septier† : a septier of oats for forty sols parisis, and a boisseau‡ of pease eight sols, and other grains according to their value.

In this month of October, on the day of the celebration of the fraternity of St. Ouen, the English took the town of Guignes, notwithstanding the truce : and in this year, the constable of France was married to the daughter of the lord Charles of Blois.

Charles of France, dauphin of Vienne,—Louis duke of Anjou
—John duke of Berry,—Philip duke of Touraine,—king
John's sons.

Charles king of Navarre.

Peter duke of Bourbon,—James Bourbon count de la Marche,
—brothers.

Charles de la Cerda of Spain, earl of Angoulême.

Arnold d'Andreghen,—John de Clermont,—marshals of
France.

Geoffry count de Chargny, great chamberlain of France.

Charles earl of Tancarville.

William de Brenne, duke of Athens, master of the horse.

John of Artois, earl of Eu,—Charles of Artois, count de Longueville,—John viscount de Melun, sons of Robert d'Artois.

For more particulars, see Favine's 'Theatre d'Honneur.

* Cotgrave says, that a livre parisis is 2s. 6d., and that ten sols parisis is equal to one shilling.

† A septier of wheat, according to Cotgrave, weighs 240 pounds.

‡ A boisseau of wheat weighs 20 pounds.

CHAP. CLII.

THE KING OF NAVARRE CAUSES THE LORD CHARLES OF SPAIN, CONSTABLE OF FRANCE, TO BE MURDERED ; WITH OTHER MATTERS.

IN the year 1352, on the eve of the feast of our Lady, the middle of August, the lord Guy de Nefle, lord of Ofsemont, at that time marshal of France in Brittany, had an engagement, in which the marshal was slain in battle, and also the lord of Briquebec, the baron of Beauvais, and many other nobles as well of the country of Brittany, as of other parts of France.

The 4th of September was the day appointed for the combat* at Paris, between the duke of Brunswick and the duke of Lancaster, for words which the duke of Lancaster had spoken, and for which the duke of Brunswick had summoned him to answer at the court of the king of France.

The two dukes came to the field completely armed, and entered the lists which had been prepared for the German appellant, and the English respondent. As the English were at war with France, the duke of Lancaster had come thither under a safe conduct from king John, to defend his honour. The king of France, however, would not permit them to fight ; but, although they had

* See Dugdale's Baronage, for a more particular account of this duel, and of an end being put to it by the king of France, at the intreaty of the duke of Brunswick, who, through cowardice, submitted to his award.

armed themselves, and had taken the oaths, and were mounting their steeds, he took the business into his own hands, and made up the difference between them.

On the 6th day of December, pope Clement VI. died, at Avignon, in the eleventh year of his pontificate; and, on the 11th of the following month, a cardinal from Limosin, stiled cardinal of Ostia, but, because he had been bishop of Clermont, commonly called cardinal of Clermont, was elected pope, about the hour of ten in the morning, in his room. He took the title of Innocent VI. though his own proper name was sir Stephen Aubert.

On the 6th day of January 1353, soon after day-break, the lord Charles Navarre, earl of Evreux, caused the lord Charles of Spain, constable of France, to be murdered in his bed at an inn in the town of Aigle* in Normandy, by some men at arms whom he sent there: he remained in a barn without the town, until they were returned to him after the performance of this deed. It was said he was accompanied by the lord Philip of Navarre his brother, the lord Lewis de Harcourt, and lord Godfrey de Harcourt his uncle, and many other knights, as well from Navarre as from Normandy.

The king of Navarre and his company retreated to the city of Evreux, of which he was lord, provisioned it, and added to the fortifications. With him went the above-mentioned Harcourts, the lord of Malue, John Maller lord of Graville, the lord

* Diocese of Evreux.

Almaury de Meulent, and many other noblemen of Normandy.

Shortly after, the king of Navarre went to Mantes: he had before sent many letters sealed, to different towns in the kingdom, to inform them that he had put to death the constable, for various evil deeds which the constable had done against him. He sent the earl of Meaux to the king of France at Paris, on the same subject.

The king dispatched to the king of Navarre at Mantes, the cardinal de Boulogne, the bishop of Laon, the duke de Bourbon, the earl of Vendôme, and others, who entered into a treaty with the king of Navarre: forasmuch as he had married the king's sister, the mere pardon of the king for this crime would not satisfy him; but he required of the king, his lord, many other things. Every one in France imagined that a war was unavoidable, between the two kings; for the king of Navarre had made many alliances, collected troops in different places, and had victualled and fortified his towns and castles. At last, however, after many treaties, there was one agreed to, of which the following are some of the principal points.

The king of France was to give the king of Navarre thirty-eighty thousand livres tournois, on account of an annuity which the king of Navarre received from the treasury of Paris, in lieu of lands which, according to an agreement made between their royal predecessors, were to be assigned to him, for the county of Champagne, as well as on account of his marriage with the king of France's daughter,

daughter, when he was promised as much land as would amount to twelve thousand livres a-year. The king of Navarre wished to have the lordship of Beaumont le Roger*, the lands of Breteuil† in Normandy, Conches‡, and Orbec§, the viscounty of Pont-au-demer||, and the bailiwick of Coutantin: which were acceded to by the king of France, though the four first lands belonged to Philip duke of Orleans, the king's brother, and he gave him other estates in lieu of them. The king consented also, for the sake of peace, that all the Harcourts and his other allies should hold from him, as their lord, all lands dependant on Navarre, in whatever part of France they might be situated; and it was at their option to do him, if they pleased, homage for them. The king of Navarre obtained also, that these lands, and those he possessed before, should be holden by him as a peerage: and he had the power to hold, twice a-year, a court of exchequer as nobly as the duke of Normandy.

The king of France consented to pardon all who had been concerned in the death of the constable, and promised, upon his oath, that neither now nor hereafter would he seek to do them hurt for this act. The king of Navarre, in addition, received

* A market-town in Normandy, on the Rille, diocese of Evreux.

† Election of Conches.

‡ A market-town in Normandy, diocese of Evreux.

§ A town of Normandy, diocese of Lisieux.

|| Pont-au-demer,—a town in Normandy, diocese of Lisieux, seventeen leagues from Caen.

from the king of France a large sum in golden crowns; and, before he would come to Paris, he made the king send him, by way of hostage, the earl of Anjou, his second son.

When he came to Paris, he was attended by a numerous body of men at arms. The 4th day of March following, he came to the chamber of parliament, where the king was sitting, attended by many peers of France, the parliament, and some of his council: the cardinal of Boulogne was there also. The king of Navarre besought the king of France to pardon him the death of the constable, alledging that he had good reasons for so doing, which he offered then to lay before the king, or at any other time. He swore he had not done it out of any contempt to the king of France, or to the office of constable, and he added, that he should not feel any thing so much, as to be thought he had incurred the anger of the king. Upon this, the lord James de Bourbon, constable of France, by order of the king, gave his hand to the king of Navarre, and drew him aside.

Shortly after, the queen Joan, aunt to the king of Navarre, and queen Blanche, his sister; the first of whom had been the wife of Charles le Bel, and the last of king Philip, lately deceased; came into the presence of the king, and made a low reverence: sir Reginald de Trie, falling on his knees, said; ‘ My most redoubted lord, here are my ladies the queens, Joan and Blanche, who have heard that my lord of Navarre is in your ill graces, and are much hurt at it. They beseech you to have the
goodness

goodness to pardon him; and, if it pleased God, he will for the future behave himself in such a manner, that you and all the people of France shall be satisfied.'

The constable and the marshals then went to seek the king of Navarre, who, coming again into the presence of the king, placed himself between the two queens, when the cardinal spoke as follows: 'My lord of Navarre, no one ought to be surprised, if my lord the king of France is offended with you, for the crime you have committed. There is no occasion for me to name it, for you have made it so public, by your letters and otherwise, that it is known to all. You are so much beholden to him, that you ought never to have done it: you are of his blood, and nearly related to him; besides, you are his liege man, and one of his peers, and have also espoused his daughter; therefore this deed is so much the more blameable. However, for the love and affection he bears my ladies the queens, here present, who have most earnestly intreated him in your behalf; and, because he believes you have committed this crime through bad advisers, he pardons you heartily and willingly.'

The two queens, and the king of Navarre, upon this, fell on their knees, and thanked the king. The cardinal added, 'that in future if any one of the king's relations, or others, should dare commit such a crime as the king of Navarre had done, and even if it should again happen, to the king's son, to insult or injure the lowest officer the king had,

he should infallibly be punished.' Upon this, the court broke up*.

The 22d of March, a knight-banneret of the low marches, called sir Reginald de Preffigny, lord of Marans near la Rochelle, was drawn and hanged on a gibbet, by orders of the parliament and many of the great council of the king.

On the 4th of August 1354, the king of France was reconciled to the earl of Harcourt and the lord Lewis his brother, who were, as it was then said, to reveal to him many things of consequence, especially all that related to the death of the constable.

In the following month of September, the cardinal de Boulogne set out from Paris to go to Avignon, and, it was commonly reported, not in the good graces of the king: howbeit, during the space of a year that he had remained in France, he had lived as well with the king as any other courtier.

About this time, lord Robert de Lorris, chamberlain to the king of France, suddenly quitted the kingdom. It was said, that, had he been taken, he would have suffered, for having revealed to the king of Navarre the secrets of the king of France,

* The cause of the murder of Charles d'Espagne, constable of France, by Charles le Mauvais, was the opposition the constable made to the pretensions of the king of Navarre to the counties of Champagne, Brie, and to the duchy of Burgundy.—See Ferrera's *Hist. of Spain*, vol. v. pp. 276, 277.

in the like manner as the Harcourts had done to the king of France.

The king of Navarre, in the month of November, set out from Normandy, and passed through divers places, amusing himself until he came to Avignon, and from thence went to Navarre. And in this month the archbishop of Rouen, chancellor of France, and the duke of Bourbon set off for Avignon; as did the duke of Lancaster, and others of the English, in order to hold a conference touching a peace between the two kings.

This same month the king of France left Paris, and went into Normandy as far as Caen. He took possession of all the lands belonging to the king of Navarre, and appointed new officers and garrisons in all the castles belonging to him, except six, viz. Evreux, Pont-au-demer, Cherbourg, Gavrey*, Avranches†, Mortain‡, which were garrisoned by men from Navarre, who would not surrender themselves, but answered those sent to them from the king of France, that they would not give them up save to their lord, the king of Navarre, who had put them under their guard.

In the month of January, the lord Robert de Lorris returned to Paris, by a passport from the king, where he remained a fortnight without having permission to see him; and, when he was admitted to his presence, he was not fully reconciled: he

* A market-town in Normandy, four leagues from Coutances.

† A town in Normandy,—a bishop's see.

‡ A town in Normandy,—diocese of Avranches.

therefore, by the advice of the king's council, returned to Avignon, that he might be present during the conferences.

Towards the end of February, news was brought, that the truce which would expire in April, between the kings of France and England, had been prolonged by the pope to the nativity of St. John the Baptist, in order that he might find some means of making a permanent peace; and that the commissioners from each king had consented to it. The pope sent ambassadors to the kings, respecting another mode of carrying on the treaty than what had hitherto been practised.

This same month, the king of France coined florins of fine gold, which were called Lamb Florins, because on the reverse was the figure of a lamb. They were valued at fifty-two the marc*; and when they were coined, the king gave forty-eight for a marc of pure gold, and forbid the currency of any other florins.

This month, sir Gaucher de l'Orme came to Paris, to the king of France, as ambassador from the king of Navarre: he returned the following March, carrying with him passports for the king of Navarre.

This year, about Shrovetide, many of the English advanced near to Nantes; and, by means of ropeladders, about fifty-two of them got into and took the castle: but sir Guy de Rochefort, who was the governor, and at that time in the town, attacked

* Eight ounces of gold, silver or bullion.

them so vigorously that he regained it that same night; and the fifty-two English were either slain or taken prisoners.

King John, about Easter 1355, sent his eldest son, Charles dauphin of Vienne, into Normandy, as his lieutenant, where he remained all the summer; and the province granted him three thousand men at arms for three months.

In the month of August following, the king of Navarre landed at the castle of Cherbourg, and with him ten thousand men, including every one. There were many treaties begun between those attached to the king of France and those belonging to the king of Navarre: each sent respectively ambassadors to the other.

The king of Navarre's garrisons in Evreux and Pont-au-demer plundered all the country thereabout: some of them advanced to the castle of Conches, which at that time was in king John's hands, took it, and filled it well with provisions and men at arms. Several other acts of hostility were done by the men of Navarre against the subjects of the king of France. At last, peace was made; and the king of Navarre then went to the dauphin of Vienne, in the castle of Verneuil*, who conducted him to the good city of Paris.

On the 24th day of September, they both came to the king, who then resided at the castle of the Louvre at Paris: and, when admitted to his pre-

* Verneuil,—a city of Normandy, twenty-nine leagues and a half from Paris.

fence, the king of Navarre made his reverence before the many nobles who were there assembled. He excused himself very honourably for having quitted the realm, and added, that he had heard some had found fault with his conduct towards the king: he therefore requested the king would name those who had done so: for he swore that, since the death of the constable, he had done nothing against the king of France but what a loyal subject should and ought to do. Nevertheless, he besought the king of France, that he would pardon all that was passed, and admit him to his favour. He promised that in future he would be as good and loyal as a son ought to be to a father, or a vassal to his lord. The king informed him, through the duke of Athens, that he forgave every thing heartily.

CHAP. CLIII.

THE TAX OF THE GABELLE* IMPOSED THROUGHOUT FRANCE, BY THE THREE ESTATES, ON ACCOUNT OF THE WAR.

THE prince of Wales went into Gascony some time in the month of October 1355, and advanced as far as Toulouse, where he crossed the Garonne,

* The Gabelle is a tax upon salt. All persons in France before the Revolution in 1789, when it was abolished, were obliged to pay a certain sum for salt, whether they used any or not. This necessary article was monopolized by contractors, who enriched themselves at the public expence. It

Garonne, and went to Carcassonne*. He burnt the suburbs, but could do nothing to the town, as it was well defended. He then marched to Narbonne† burning and destroying the country, and, in the month of November, returned to Bourdeaux with great plunder and a multitude of prisoners, without having met with any opposition, notwithstanding that the earl of Armagnac, the king of France's lieutenant in Languedoc, was at that time in the country, as well as the lord of Foix, the lord James de Bourbon, lord of Ponthieu and constable of France, and the lord John de Clermont, marshal of France, with a more numerous army than that of the prince of Wales.

The king of England landed at Calais in the month of October of this year, and marched to

is singular, that in almost all countries there has been levied a tax on this article of absolute necessity, when it could be easily demonstrated, that a most trifling capitation-tax would produce a larger sum than this very oppressive impost: the poor would be relieved, agriculture and the fisheries would be extended to an unbounded degree of perfection. This tax presses most severely on the Welsh peasantry, and on the inhabitants of the western and northern parts of Britain, where they cannot profit from the bounties of Providence, in the vast shoals of fish on their coasts, by the vexations of this impolitic duty.

It was first imposed by Philippe le Long; and, I believe, at this period (1802) it has been re-imposed in France.

* A considerable town in Languedoc, twenty-three leagues from Toulouse.

† A large city in Languedoc, an archbishoprick, thirty-seven leagues from Toulouse.

Hesdin,

Hesdin*, where he destroyed the outworks, and burnt the houses within them; but he did not enter the town or castle.

The king of France, on hearing this news of the English, issued out his summons for an army to assemble at Amiens, and marched towards the king of England, who had retreated to Calais.

The king of France advanced as far as St. Omer, whence he sent to inform the king of England, by the marshal d'Authain, and many other knights, that he was willing to give him battle, either in single combat, or with his army, any day he would choose to name; but the king of England refused the combat, and crossed the sea for England. The king of France returned to Paris.

In this same year, about St. Andrew's day, the king of France summoned all the prelates, chapters, barons, and citizens of the principal towns, to Paris, when he laid before them, through his chancellor, in the chamber of parliament, the state of the war, and requested of them to consult together on what aids they could grant that should be sufficient to enable him to carry it on. And because the king had heard that his subjects complained of being much aggrieved by the alteration in the coin, he offered to coin money that should be good and weighty, if they would grant him other supplies sufficient to enable him to pursue the war. Upon which they answered, that is to say, the clergy

* A strong town in Artois, on the Canche, twenty-two leagues from Calais.

by the mouth of the archbishop of Rheims, the nobles by the duke of Athens, and the citizens by Stephen Marcel, provost of merchants in the good town of Paris, that they were willing to live or die for him, and offered him the disposal of their lives and fortunes, requiring only a little time to deliberate together. This request was willingly complied with.

The king of France gave this year, on the vigil of the feast of the conception of the Virgin Mary, the duchy of Normandy to his eldest son the dauphin of Vienne, earl of Poitiers; and, on the morrow, he did homage for it.

After the three estates had deliberated, they replied to the king of France, in the chamber of parliament, by the aforementioned persons, that they would grant him an army of thirty thousand men, to be maintained by them for one year; and in order to have the fund for paying this, which was estimated at fifty thousand livres parisis*, the three estates ordered that there should be levied upon all persons, whatever their state may be, churchmen, nobles or others, a tax of eight deniers parisis per pound, on all sorts of provisions; and that the tax upon salt should be established throughout France. But, as it was not known if this tax, and the extension of the gabelle would be sufficient, it was ordered that the three estates should remain in Paris, to see and examine the result of this tax, and that on the

* My two MSS. say 'cinquante cent mille livres,' which appears most probable from the severity of the tax.

1st of March following they should again assemble; which was done, except by some of the nobles and citizens from the chief towns in Picardy, and many other towns in Normandy. Those who had examined the receipt of the taxes were also there; and upon their information that it was not sufficient, a new subsidy was resolved on: and it was ordered, that all manner of persons, of the blood royal or not, priest or layman, monk or nun, privileged or unprivileged, innkeepers, heads of churches, who possessed rents, or revenues from offices or administrations, widows as well as those who held estates in their own right, children, married or not, who had any fortune in the hands of trustees or otherwise; coiners, and all others who had formerly been exempted from taxation, and who were possessed of one hundred livres a-year, or under, whether by inheritance, annuity, wages or pension for life, should pay a subsidy of four livres, to defray the expense of the war: those of forty livres a-year, and under, to pay forty sols: ten livres a-year, and upward, twenty sols: and under ten livres a-year, children, whether in wardship or upwards of fifteen years old, labourers and workmen gaining their livelihood by work, should pay ten sols: if they had any fortune beside what they acquired by labour, they were to pay as the others. Servants and all who worked for hire, so that they gained a hundred sols, and upwards, a-year, were also to pay ten sols. The sol was to be taken as the sol parisien, in those parts where this mode of reckoning was usual, and as the sol tournois in the other parts.

Those

Those servants who did not gain more than the exact sum of one hundred sols a-year, or under, were to pay nothing; but, if they had any equivalent fortune, they were to pay according to the rate of the others.

None of the mendicant monks, nor those in cloisters without office or administration, nor children under the age of fifteen, without any property, were to pay to this subsidy.

Nuns were also exempted, who had not any income exceeding ten livres. Wives paid nothing, because their husbands were taxed, and their fortunes would be reckoned as part of their husbands.

With regard to the clergy, whether they were prelates, abbots, priors, canons, curates, or others who possessed upwards of one hundred livres a-year, by benefices, or inheritance from the holy church, or by both, and extending to five thousand livres a-year, they were to pay four livres for the first hundred livres, and forty sols for every other hundred of the five thousand. No farther aid was to be required from any sum above five thousand livres. The revenues of the benefices were to be estimated by the tax of the tenth penny, and no one was to be allowed to claim any privileges from their tenths, if they had been once granted.

With regard to the nobility, and citizens of the chief towns, who had upwards of one hundred livres a-year: the nobles were to be taxed as far as five thousand livres of rent, and forty sols for every hundred livres, besides the four livres for the first hundred. The inhabitants of the towns in the same manner,

manner, as far as one thousand livres a-year. As for the furniture of those noblemen who did not possess a hundred livres a-year, it was to be valued as high as one thousand livres, and no higher ; and for those who were not noble, and had not four hundred livres a-year, their furniture was to be valued as far as four thousand livres, that is to say, at the rate of one hundred livres for every ten livres of rent ; and they were to pay the tax in the manner above specified. If it should happen that any nobleman possessed but just the rental of one hundred livres, and his furniture of no higher value than one thousand livres ; or that any one, not noble, had a rental of four hundred livres, and furniture to the amount of four thousand livres, then their rentals and furniture should be entered together, as high to the nobleman as one thousand livres, and to others as far as four thousand livres, and no more.

On Saturday, the 5th of March 1356, there was a dissension in the town of Arras, between the higher and lower ranks of inhabitants : the lower sort killed, that day, seventeen of the higher rank in the town. On the Monday following, they murdered four others, and banished many more ; so that they remained masters of the town of Arras.

CHAP. CLIV.

THE KING OF FRANCE ARRESTS THE KING OF NAVARRE, AND ORDERS THE EARL OF HARCOURT AND OTHERS TO BE BEHEADED AT ROUEN.

THE king of France, on Tuesday the 5th of April, which was the Tuesday after midlent Sunday, set out early completely armed, from Mainville*, attended by about one hundred lances. There were with him his son the earl of Anjou, his brother the duke of Orleans, the lord John d'Artois, earl of Eu, the lord Charles his brother, cousin-germans to the king, the earl of Tancarville, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, marshal of France, and many other barons and knights.

They rode straight for the castle of Rouen, by a back way, without passing through the town, and on entering found, in the hall of the castle, Charles duke of Normandy, Charles king of Navarre, John earl of Harcourt, the lords de Preaux, de Clerc, de Graville, and some others seated at dinner. The king immediately ordered them all, except the dauphin, to be arrested, as also sir William and sir Louis de Harcourt, brothers to the earl, the lord Fricquet de Friquart, the lord de Tournebeu, the lord Manbué de Mamefnars, two squires called

* Mainville,—a market town in Vexin Normandy, in the election of Gisors.

Oliver Doublet and John de Vaubatu, and many others. He had them shut up in different rooms in the castle; and his reason for so doing was, that, since the reconciliation made on occasion of the death of the constable of France, the king of Navarre had conspired and done many things contrary to the honor of the king, and the good of his realm: the earl of Harcourt had also used many injurious expressions in the castle of Vaudreuil*, when an assembly was holden there to grant a subsidy to the king of France against the said king, in order to prevent, as much as lay in his power, the subsidy from being agreed to. The king, after this, sat down to dinner, and afterwards, mounting his horse, rode, attended by all his company, to a field behind the castle, called the Field of Pardon. The king then ordered the earl of Harcourt, the lord of Graville, the lord Maubué and Oliver Doublet to be brought thither in two carts: their heads were cut off, and their bodies dragged to the gibbet at Rouen, where they were hung, and their heads placed upon the gibbet.

In the course of that day and the morrow, the king set at liberty all the other prisoners, except three: Charles king of Navarre, who was conducted to prison in the Louvre at Paris, and afterwards to the Châtelet: some of the king's council were appointed as a guard over him. Friquet and Vaubatu were also confined in the Châtelet.

* Vaudreuil,—a small town of Normandy, diocese of Evreux, near from Rouen.

Philip of Navarre, however, kept possession of several castles which the king his brother had in Normandy, and, when the king of France sent him orders to surrender them, refused to obey, but in conjunction with the lord Godfrey de Harcourt and other enemies of France, raised forces in the country of Coutantin, which they defended against the king's troops.

On Wednesday after Easter 1356, sir Arnold d'Andreghen went to Arras, and there very prudently, and without the help of his soldiery, arrested one hundred of those who had put the town in a state of rebellion, and who had murdered the citizens. On the morrow, he had twenty of them beheaded; and the rest he kept in prison until the king should have ordered otherwise. By this means the town was rendered obedient to the king.

In the month of June following, the duke of Lancaster landed in the country of Coutantin, and joined the lord Philip of Navarre and sir Godfrey de Harcourt. They were about four thousand combatants. They marched strait for Lisieux, Orbec, and Pont-au-demer, where they reinforced the castle, which had been besieged for upwards of two months. The lord Robert de Hotetot, captain of the cross bowmen in France, who, with other nobles, had laid siege to it, broke it up as soon as he heard of the coming of the duke of Lancaster, leaving behind him his machines and artillery, which were captured by those of the castle. The duke and lord Philip made an excursion as far as

Breteuil*, which they strengthened, robbing and plundering the country through which they passed.

When they found that the city and castle of Evreux had lately surrendered to the king of France, who had for a length of time laid siege to it, and that the town and cathedral had been pillaged and burnt by the men of Navarre, who gave up the castle by capitulation, as well as by some of the king's forces, who were besieging the town; the duke and lord Philip went forwards to Verneuil†, which town and castle they took and plundered: they also burnt part of the town.

The king of France, on hearing of the landing of the duke of Lancaster, had issued out his orders for raising troops: he assembled a large body of men at arms and infantry, set out in pursuit of him, and, passing through Condé‡, made straight for the town of Verneuil. He passed by l'Aigle§, and followed him to Tuboeuf, two leagues distant from l'Aigle. The king of France was then informed that he could not pursue him further; for there were immense forests in which his party could secrete themselves: the king therefore returned, and came, with his whole army, before the castle of Thilliers|| which they said was in possession of Navarre. He took it, and garrisoned it with his own people.

* A town in Normandy, election of Conches.

† A city in Normandy, twelve leagues from Evreux.

‡ A village in Normandy, in the election of Alençon.

§ A small city in Normandy, diocese of Evreux, election of Verneuil.

|| Thilliers is a village in Picardy, near Montdidier.

He afterwards came to the castle of Breteuil, which was defended for the king of Navarre: The king of France remained before this castle the space of two months, when it was surrendered on capitulation, that the garrison might go whither they pleased, and all they could carry with them.

CHAP. CLV.

THE KING OF FRANCE ISSUES OUT SUMMONS FOR ASSEMBLING AN ARMY TO COMBAT THE PRINCE OF WALES, WHO WAS OVERRUNNING THE PROVINCE OF BERRY.

WHEN king John of France had finished his expedition, and had re-conquered all the towns and castles in lower Normandy which belonged to the king of Navarre, whom he detained in prison, he returned to the city of Paris. He had not long been there before he heard that the prince of Wales with his whole army, had invaded his kingdom, and was fast advancing towards the fertile country of Berry.

When this was told him, the king said, with an oath, that he would immediately set out after him, and give him battle wherever he should find him. He issued out a special summons, to all nobles and others who held fiefs under him, that they should not, under any pretence whatever, absent themselves, without incurring his highest displeasure, but, immediately on the receipt of these letters, set

out to meet him on the borders of Touraine and Blois ; for he was determined to fight the English.

The king, to hasten the business, marched from Paris ; for he had at this time a large body of men at arms in the field ; and went to Chartres, to gain more certain intelligence of the enemy. He remained there some time, and great crowds of troops and men at arms came to him from the different countries of Auvergne, Berry, Burgundy, Lorraine, Hainault, Vermandois, Picardy, Brittany and Normandy. They passed through the town on their arrival, to shew their musters, and took up their quarters in the fields, according to the orders of the two marshals, the lord John de Clermont and lord Arnold d'Andreghen. The king gave orders for all the towns in Anjou, Poitou, Maine and Touraine, to be well garrisoned and provided with all things, especially those on the borders, by which it was hoped the English would pass, that they might be inclosed, and cut off from any subsistence for themselves and horses. In spite of this, however, the prince, who had with him two thousand men at arms and six thousand archers, rode on at his ease, and collected every where provisions in plenty. They found the country of Auvergne, which they had entered and overrun, very rich, and all things in great abundance ; but they would not stop there, as they were desirous of combating their enemies. They burnt and destroyed all the countries they passed through ; and when they entered any town which was well provisioned, they rested there some days to refresh themselves, a

at their departure destroyed what remained, staving the heads of wine casks that were full, burning the wheat and oats, so that their enemies could not save any thing. They kept advancing, and found plenty every where; for the countries of Berry, Poitou, Touraine and Maine are very rich, and full of forage for men at arms.

The English advanced so far that they came to the good city of Bourges*, where there was a great skirmish at one of the gates. Two knights, the lord de Coufant and the lord Hutin de Memelles, had charge of the city. Many gallant deeds were performed; but the English left it without doing any damage, and went to Issodun†, where there was a strong castle. They attacked it very briskly, with their whole army, but they could not gain it; for the governor and the knights who were with him too valiantly defended themselves. The English therefore passed on, and came to a large town and castle: the town, being weakly fortified and badly defended, was taken by storm. They found there great plenty of wines and other provisions, and remained three days to repose themselves.

News was brought there to the prince of Wales, that the king of France was in the city of Chartres, with a very large army, and that all the passes and towns on that side of the Loire were secured, and so well guarded no one could cross the river. The

* A large city in Berry, and an archbishoprick.

† In Berry, diocese of Bourges, and eight leagues distant.

prince then held a council, when it was resolved he should set out on his return to Bourdeaux, whence he had come, through Touraine and Poitou, and destroy all the country as he passed. They began their retreat, after they had done their pleasure with the town; and this day they gained the castle, and slew the greater part whom they found in it.

They marched toward Romorantin*. The king of France sent into Berry three gallant barons, the lord of Craon, the lord of Boucicault, and the hermit of Chaumont, to defend the frontiers, and to observe the motions of the English. They had with them three hundred lances; and, skirting the borders of the province, they followed them for six days, without finding any opportunity of intercepting or of attacking the enemy; such good and close order did the English maintain on their march.

The French therefore had recourse to an ambuscade, near to Romorantin, in a wonderfully narrow spot, which the English were obliged to pass. That same day, there left the prince's army, from the battalion of the marshals, by permission of the prince, the lord Bartholomew Burghersh, the lord of Muyssidan a Gascon, the lord Petiton Courton, the lord Delawar, the lord Basset, sir Walter Pavely, sir Richard Pontchardon, sir Nelle Loring, the young lord Despencer, sir Eustace and sir Sanchez d'Ambreticourt, with about two hundred combat-

* Romorantin,—a considerable town on the Saire, in Blaisois, and capital of Sologne.

ants; in order to push forward to Romorantin. They passed through the ambuscade of the French without molestation ; but, the moment they were clear of it, the French, who were mounted on excellent and well-dressed horses, stuck spurs into them, to overtake them. The English, who had got far forward, hearing the sound of horses' feet, turned round and found it was the enemy. They immediately halted, to wait for the French, who advanced on a gallop, fully determined what to do, with their lances in their rests. The English, seeing them thus charge full speed, opened on each side and let them pass through, so that no more than five or six were unhorsed : they then closed their ranks, and fell upon the rear of the French. This engagement was very sharp : many knights and squires were unhorsed, raised up again and rescued on both sides. It lasted a long time ; and no one could tell, so valiantly was it disputed, to which side victory would incline, when the battalion of the marshals appeared in sight. The French first noticed it, as it marched, skirting along a wood, and immediately thought of saving themselves as fast as they could, taking the road to Romorantin. The English followed on full gallop, overthrowing all they could, without sparing themselves or their horses. The slaughter was great, and many were killed and unhorsed. One half of them, however, got safe into the castle of Romorantin, whose gates were opened to receive them. There the three barons saved themselves, as well as some knights and squires who were the best mounted. The town
of

of Romorantin was taken on the first arrival of the English, for it was not fortified. The remainder of the French endeavoured to escape by getting into the castle.

CHAP. CLVI,

THE PRINCE OF WALES TAKES THE CASTLE OF
ROMORANTIN,

WHEN the prince of Wales was informed that his people had been engaged, he hastened the march of his army towards Romorantin, and, when he entered the town, found it full of his men, who were studying how they could take the castle.

The prince called sir John Chandos, and ordered him to go and hold a parley with those in the castle. Sir John went to the barriers, and made a sign that he wished to speak with some one; those upon guard inquired his name, by whom he was sent, and then went to inform their masters. Upon which, the lord of Boucicault and the hermit of Chaumont came down to the bars. When sir John saw them, he saluted them, and said; ‘Gentlemen, I am sent to you by my lord the prince, who wishes, as it appears to me, to behave courteously toward his enemies, and thus says, that, if you will surrender the castle and yourselves, he will show you mercy, and give you good company.’ The lord of Boucicault replied; ‘We have no sort of inclination to accept of such terms, nor to commit such

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an act of folly without any necessity; for we are determined to defend ourselves.' Upon this they parted; and the prince ordered his men to quarters, for the next day he meant to attack the castle: they were therefore commodiously lodged in the town of Romorantin, and close about it.

On the next morning, the men at arms prepared themselves, and the archers advanced under their respective banners, and made a sharp attack upon the castle. The archers, who had posted themselves on the ditches, shot so justly, that scarcely any one dared to show himself on the battlements.

Some got upon hurdles and doors, with pick-axes and mattocks in their hands, and swam over the ditch, when they began to undermine the walls. Those within flung down upon them large stones and pots of hot lime. On this occasion, there was slain, on the part of the English, a squire called Remond de Gederlach, who belonged to the division of the capital de Buch. This attack lasted the whole day, with little intermission. The English retreated, towards night, to their quarters, in order to take care of the wounded; and on the morrow, at sun-rise, the marshal's trumpets sounded. All who were ordered for this assault got themselves in readiness: the prince of Wales himself attended in person, and by his presence mightily encouraged the English. A squire, of the name of Bernard, was killed close at his side, by a stone thrown from the castle: upon which the prince swore, he would never move from that place until he had the castle
and

and all in it in his power, and immediately ordered reinforcements to the assault.

Some of the wisest thought that they might use lances and arrows for ever in vain ; and therefore they ordered cannons to be brought forward, and also aqueraux*, to fire *le feu gregois*† into the lower court of the castle, so that it was all in a blaze. The fire increased so much that it gained a large tower which was covered with thatch.

When those within the castle found that they must either surrender themselves or perish by fire, the lord of Craon, the lord of Boucicault, and the hermit of Chaumont came down from the castle, and surrendered themselves to the prince, who made them ride and attend him, as his prisoners : many other knights and squires who were in the castle were set at liberty, and the castle was destroyed.

* *Aqueraulx*. In du Cange, this passage is referred to as the authority for the word : he calls it *machina belli*.

† Feu gregois, or feu grecquois, was composed of sulphur, naphtha, pitch, gum, and bitumen. It is only extinguishable by vinegar mixed with sand or urine, or by raw hides. It was first used by the Greeks, about the year 660.—For further accounts, see *Encyclopædia Britannica*, word *Fire*.

CHAP. CLVII.

THE KING OF FRANCE LEADS A GREAT ARMY TO
THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

AFTER the taking of the castle of Romorantin, and the above-mentioned knights, the prince and his army marched forward as before, burning and destroying the country, in his approach to Anjou and Touraine.

The king of France, who had resided at Chartres, set out from that place and came to Blois*, where he remained two days. He then came to Amboise†, and then to Loches‡, where he heard that the English were in Touraine, taking the road for their return through Poitou; for the English army was constantly observed by some able and expert knights of France and Burgundy, who sent the king particular information of its movements.

The king of France then advanced to la Haye§ in Touraine. His army had crossed the Loire, by the bridges of Orleans, Mehun, Saumur, Blois, and Tours, and wherever else they could. There were such numbers of good and able men, that they were at least twenty thousand men at arms, without

* A handsome city and bishopric on the north side of the Loire, 44 leagues and a half from Paris.

† A small city in Touraine, on the Loire, ten leagues from Blois.

‡ A town in Touraine, on the Indre, diocese of Tours, 69 leagues from Paris.

§ A town in Touraine, on the Creuse, twelve leagues from Tours.

reckoning the others: there were twenty-five dukes and earls, and upwards of six score banners. The four young sons of the king were also with him; Charles duke of Normandy, the lord Lewis, who was afterwards duke of Anjou, the lord John since duke of Berry, and the lord Philip, the younger, who was afterwards duke of Burgundy.

About this time, pope Innocent VI. had sent into France two cardinals, sir Bertrand, cardinal of Perigord, and sir Nicholas, cardinal d'Aigel*, to endeavour to make a peace between the king of France and his enemies, and especially between him and the king of Navarre, who was still detained in prison. The two cardinals had held frequent conferences with the king on this subject, during the siege of Breteuil, but were not able to bring it to a conclusion.

The cardinal of Perigord had retired to the city of Tours, where he was informed that the king of France was marching in all haste after the English. He therefore left Tours, and hastened to Poitiers, as he had learnt that the two armies were approaching near to each other in that quarter.

When the king of France heard that the prince of Wales was making as much haste as possible to return, he did not think he could any way escape him. He marched from la Haye, with his whole army, and made for Chauvigny†, where he took

* In some, it is d'Urgel.

† A town in Poitou, on the Vienne, diocese of Poitiers, six leagues from Poitiers.

tip his quarters on Thursday, as well in the town as without the walls, in meads along the banks of the river Vienne. On the morrow, after breakfast, the king crossed the river at the bridge of Chauvigny, and imagined that the English were just before him, but he was mistaken. However, in the pursuit, upwards of forty thousand horse crossed this bridge on the Friday: many others did so at Châtelleraut*: and all, as they passed, took the road to Poitiers.

On the other hand, the prince of Wales and his army were ignorant of the exact motions of the French; but they supposed they were not far distant, for their foragers found great difficulties in procuring forage, of which the whole army was in extreme want. They repented of the great waste they had made in Berry, Anjou, and Touraine, and that they had not more amply provisioned themselves.

It happened on this Friday, from the king of France in person passing the bridge of Chauvigny, and the great crowds which attended him, that three great barons of France, the lord of Auxerre, the lord Raoul de Joigny, and the earl of Joigny, were obliged to remain all that day in the town of Chauvigny, and a part of their people with them: the others passed over without baggage or armour except what they had on their backs. On the Saturday morning, they dislodged, crossed the bridge,

* A town in Poitou, on the Vienne, diocese of Poitiers, ten leagues distant.

and followed the army of the king, which was about three leagues off. They made for the open fields and the heaths, which were furrounded by woods, in order to arrive at Poitiers. This same Saturday, the prince decamped from a village hard by, and sent forward a detachment to seek adventures, and to bring some intelligence of the French. They consisted of about sixty men, well armed and mounted for the occasion. Among the knights were sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt and sir John de Guistelles. By accident, they got on the heaths furrounded by the woods above mentioned. The French; soon saw they were enemies: they fixed on their helmets, and unfurled their banners as quickly as they were able; when, fixing their lances in their rests, they stuck spurs to their horses.

The English no sooner perceived these Frenchmen, who were about two hundred lances, than they resolved to allow themselves to be pursued, as the prince and his army were not far distant: they therefore wheeled about, and made for the rutty road through the wood. The French chaced them with shouts and a great noise, and, as they galloped on, fell in with the army of the prince, which had halted among the heaths to wait for their companions. The lord Raoul de Joigny and those under his banner were advanced so far that they came right upon the banner of the prince: the engagement was very sharp, and sir Raoul fought well: however, he was made prisoner, as were the earl of Joigny, the viscount de Breuse, the lord of Chauvigny:

vigny: the greater part were either slain or captured.

By these the prince learnt, that the king of France had marched forward, and that he could not return without fighting him. Upon which, he collected all the stragglers, and ordered that no one, under pain of death, should advance or skirmish before the battalion of the marshals. They marched on this Saturday, from about nine o'clock until vespers, when they came within two small leagues of Poitiers.

The capital de Buch*, sir Haymenon de Pomiers, sir Bartholomew Burghersh and sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt were ordered to advance, and observe where the French were encamped.

These knights, with two hundred men well armed and mounted on their best steeds, set out, and soon perceived the French king's army. All the plain was covered with men at arms; and these English could not refrain from attacking the rear

* *The Capital de Buch.* The title of capital had anciently been affected by some of the most illustrious lords of Aquitaine. It seems that it was originally equivalent to the title of count, and marked even a superiority, as the word *capitalis* announces, principal chief. This dignity, at first personal, as well as all the others, became, in length of time, attached to particular families, and to the estates of which they were possessed. In the time of the first dukes of Aquitaine, there were several capitals; but this title, perhaps by neglect, was replaced by others, so that, towards the fourteenth century, there were no more than two capitals acknowledged, that of Buch and that of Franc.—Vide Gloss. du Cange, ad. verb. Capitalis.

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of the French: they unhorsed many, and took some prisoners, insomuch that the main army began to be in motion. News was brought of this to the king of France, as he was on the point of entering the city of Poitiers: upon which he turned back, and ordered his whole army to do the same, and make for the open fields, so that it was very late before they were quartered.

The English detachment returned to the prince, and related to him the appearance of the French: that they were in immense numbers. The prince, on hearing this, said, 'God help us; we must now consider which will be the best manner to fight them the most advantageously.'

This night, the English were quartered in a very strong position, among vineyards and hedges, and both armies were well guarded.

CHAP. CLVIII.

THE DISPOSITION OF THE FRENCH BEFORE THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

ON the Sunday morning, the king of France, who was very impatient to combat the English, ordered a solemn mass to be sung in his pavilion; and he and his four sons received the communion.

Mass being over, there came to him the duke of Orleans, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Ponthieu, the lord James de Bourbon, the duke of Athens constable of France, the earl of Tancarville, the earl of Saltzburg, the earl of Dammartin, the
earl

earl of Vantadour, and many barons of France, as well as other great lords who held fiefs in the neighbourhood, such as my lord of Clermont, sir Arnold d'Andreghen marshal of France, the lord de St. Venant, the lord John de Landas, the lord Eustace de Ribeaumont, the lord de Fiennes, the lord Geoffry de Chargay, the lord of Châtillon, the lord of Sully, the lord of Nefle, sir Robert de Duras, and many more, according to a summons they had received for a council. They were a considerable time debating: at last it was ordered, that the whole army should advance into the plain, and that each lord should display his banner, and push forward in the name of God and St. Denis. Upon this, the trumpets of the army sounded, and every one got himself ready, mounted his horse, and made for that part of the plain where the king's banner was planted and fluttering in the wind. There might be seen all the nobility of France, richly dressed out in brilliant armour, with banners and pennons* gallantly displayed; for all the flower

* The *pennon* was the proper ensign of a bachelor or simple knight. Du Fresne shews, that even squires might bear pennons, provided they could bring a sufficient suite of vassals in the field.—Note in Grose's Military Antiquities. See also p. 206, vol. i. for an account of the banner and banneret, and p. 256, vol. ii.

In computing the numbers of an army, every man at arms should be counted as three; for each had his squire to bear his lance, &c. and also his body squire.

Villaret, in his history of France, says that three thousand men at arms amounted to nearly twelve thousand men.

Vol. V. 4th edn. p. 179.

of the French nobility were there : no knight nor squire, for fear of dishonour, dared to remain at home.

By the advice of the constable and the marshals, the army was divided into three battalions, each consisting of sixteen thousand men at arms, who had before shewn themselves men of tried courage.

The duke of Orleans commanded the first battalion, where there were thirty-six banners and twice as many pennons. The second was under the command of the duke of Normandy, and his two brothers, the lord Lewis and lord John. The king of France commanded the third.

Whilst these three battalions were forming, the king called to him the lord Eustace de Ribeaumont, the lord John de Landas, and the lord Guiscard de Beaujeu, and said to them ; ‘ Ride forward, as near the English army as you can, and observe their countenance, taking notice of their numbers, and examine which will be the most advantageous manner for us to combat them, whether on horseback or on foot.’ The three knights left the king to obey his commands. The king was mounted upon a white palfrey, and, riding to the head of his army, said aloud ; ‘ You, men of Paris, Chartres, Rouen and Orleans, have been used to threaten what you would do to the English, if you could find them, and wished much to meet them in arms : now, that wish shall be gratified : I will lead you to them ; and let us see how you will revenge yourselves for all the mischief and damage they have done you ; be assured we will not part without fighting.’

fighting.' Those who heard him replied; 'Sir, through God's assistance, we will most cheerfully meet them.'

At this instant the three knights returned, and pushing through the crowd, came to the king, who asked what news they had brought: sir Eustace de Ribeaumont, whom his companions had requested to be their spokesman, answered; 'Sir, we have observed accurately the English: they may amount, according to our estimate, to about two thousand men at arms, four thousand archers, and fifteen hundred footmen. They are in a very strong position; but we do not imagine they can make more than one battalion: nevertheless, they have posted themselves with great judgment, have fortified all the road along the hedge-side, and lined the hedges with part of their archers; for, as that is the only road for an attack, one must pass through the midst of them. This lane has no other entry; and it is so narrow, that scarcely can four men ride through it abreast. At the end of this lane, amidst vines and thorns, where it is impossible to ride or march in any regular order, are posted the men at arms on foot; and they have drawn up before them their archers, in the manner of a harrow, so that it will be no easy matter to defeat them.'

The king asked, in what manner they would advise him to attack them: 'Sir,' replied sir Eustace, 'on foot: except three hundred of the most expert and boldest of your army, who must be well armed and excellently mounted, in order to break, if possible, this body of archers; and then your bat-

talions must advance quickly on foot, attack men at arms hand to hand, and combat them valiantly. This is the best advice that I can give you; and, if any one know a better, let him say it.'

The king replied; 'Thus shall it be then; and, in company with his two marshals, he rode from battalion to battalion, and selected, in conformity to their opinions, three hundred knights and squires of the greatest repute in his army, each well armed and mounted on the best of horses. Soon after, the battalion of the Germans was formed, who were to remain on horseback to assist the marshals: they were commanded by the earls of Salzburg, Neydo, and Nassau.

King John was armed in royal armour, and nineteen others like him*. He had given his eldest son in charge to the lord of St. Venant, the lord of Landas, and the lord Theobald de Bodenay. The lord Geoffry de Chargny carried the banner of France, as being the most valiant and prudent knight of the army. The lord Reginald de Que-

* This custom of arming several in like manner to the commander of an army, seems to have been usual, and was carried down to our Richard III.'s time. Shakespeare makes Richard say, in the fourth scene of the last act;

'I think, there be fix Richmonds in the field:

Five have I slain to-day, instead of him.'

Also in the first part, Henry IV. Douglas says;

'Another king! they grow like hydras' heads;

I am the Douglas, fatal to all those

That wear these colours on them.—What art thou,

That counterfeit'st the person of a king?

notte,

nolle*, surnamed the Archpriest, wore the full armour of the young earl of Alençon.

* His name was Arnaut de Cervole.

• The family of Cervole, Cervolle, or Servola, held a distinguished rank among the nobility of Perigord. Arnaut was of this family. Some authors make him a Gascon, because formerly all borderers on the Garonne were so called.

• The title of *archipresbyter de Vernis*, which Dom, Vaiffette translates, 'archpriest of Vezzins,' was given to him, for though a knight and a married man, he possessed an archpriestship of that name. It is known, that Hugh duke of France and Burgundy, earl of Paris and Orleans, who died in 956, was surnamed the Abbot; because, though a layman, he possessed the abbey of St. Denis, St. Germain-des-près, and St. Martin de Tours.

• Vizzins was probably an archpriestship whose revenues Cervolle received. One cannot determine where it was situated, for villages and hamlets of this name are in Anjou, Touraine, Bouergue, and in Brittany.'

For further particulars, I shall refer to M. de Zurlauben's memoir itself, in the xxvth volume of the *Memoires de l'Academie*.

• In this same year [1366], about Trinity-day, sir Arnold de Cervole, surnamed the Archpriest, who commanded a large body of men at arms in the kingdom of France, was put to death by his own men, which rejoiced many.—See more in the *iiiid. vol. Grands Chroniques de France*, T. 3.

CHAP. CLIX.

THE CARDINAL DE PERIGORD ENDEAVOURS TO
MAKE PEACE BETWEEN THE KING OF FRANCE
AND THE PRINCE OF WALES, PREVIOUS TO THE
BATTLE OF POITIERS.

WHEN the battalions of the king of France were drawn up, and each lord posted under his proper banner, and informed how they were to act, it was ordered, that all those who were armed with lances should shorten them to the length of five feet, that they might be the more manageable, and that every one should take off his spurs.

As the French were on the point of marching to their enemies, the cardinal de Perigord, who had left Poitiers that morning early, came full gallop up to the king, making a low reverence, and intreated him, with uplifted hands, for the love of God, to halt a moment, that he might speak to him: he thus began; ‘ Most dear sire, you have here with you all the flower of knighthood of your kingdom against a handful of people, such as the English are: when compared to your army; you may have them upon other terms than by a battle; and it will be more honorable and profitable to you to gain them by this means than to risk such a fine army, and such noble persons as you have now with you. I therefore beseech you, in all humility, and by the love of God, that you will permit me to go to the prince, and remonstrate with him on the dangerous situation

situation he is in.' The king answered, 'It is very agreeable to us; but make haste back again.'

The cardinal, upon this, set off, and went in all speed to the prince, whom he found on foot in the midst of his army, in the thickest part of a vineyard. When the cardinal came there, he dismounted, and advanced to the prince, who most affably received him, and, after he had made his reverence, said; 'Fair son, if you have well considered the great army of the king of France, you will permit me to make up matters between you both, if I possibly can.' The prince, who was but in his youth, replied; 'Sir, my own honor, and that of my army saved, I am ready to listen to any reasonable terms.' The cardinal answered; 'Fair son, you say well: and I will bring about a treaty, if I can; for it would be a great pity, that so many worthy persons, who are here, should meet in battle.' The cardinal returned to the king of France, and said; 'Sir, you have no occasion to be so impatient to fight with them, for they cannot escape from you: I therefore intreat you would grant them a truce from this time, until to-morrow's sun rise.' The king at first would not agree to it, for a part of his council refused their consent: however, the cardinal spoke so eloquently that the king at last assented. He ordered a very handsome and rich pavilion of red silk to be pitched on the spot where he stood, and dismissed his army to their quarters, except the battalion of the constable and marshals.

All this Sunday, the cardinal rode from one army to the other, and was very anxious to recon-

cile the two parties. But the king would not listen to any other terms than that four principal persons of the English should be given up to his will, and that the prince and his army should unconditionally surrender themselves. Many proposals were made: the prince offered to surrender to the king of France all the towns and castles which he had conquered in this expedition; to give up, without ransom, all his prisoners, and to swear he would not for seven years take up arms against the king of France. The king and his council refused to accept of this, and the affair remained some time in suspense; at last, they declared that, if the prince of Wales and one hundred of his knights did not surrender themselves prisoners to the king of France, he would not allow them to pass on without an engagement. The prince and his army disdained accepting of such conditions.

Whilst the cardinal was riding from one army to the other, endeavouring to make peace, some knights of either party rode forth, skirting their enemy's army, to examine its disposition. It chanced, on that day, that sir John Chandos had rode out near one of the wings of the French army, and lord John de Clermont, one of the king's marshals, had done the same, to view the English. As each knight was returning to his quarters, they met; they both had the same device upon the surcoats which they wore over their other clothes; it was a Virgin Mary embroidered on a field azure, or, encompassed with the rays of the sun argent. On seeing this, lord Clermont said; 'Chandos, how long is it since you have

have

have taken upon you to wear my arms?' 'It is you who have mine,' replied Chandos; 'for it is as much mine as yours.' 'I deny that,' said the lord of Clermont; 'and were it not for the truce between us, I would soon shew you that you have no right to wear it.' 'Ha,' answered sir John Chandos, 'you will find me to-morrow in the field, ready prepared to defend, and to prove by force of arms, that it is as much mine as yours.'

The lord of Clermont replied; 'These are the boastings of you English, who can invent nothing new, but take for your own whatever you see handsome belonging to others.' With that they parted, without more words, and each returned to his own army.

The cardinal de Perigord, not being able by any means to reconcile the king and prince, returned to Poitiers late in the evening.

That same day the French kept in their quarters, where they lived at their ease, having plenty of provisions; whilst the English, on the other hand, were but badly off, nor did they know whither to go for forage, as they were so straitly kept by the French, they could not move without danger. This Sunday they made many mounds and ditches round where the archers were posted, the better to secure them.

On Monday morning, the prince and his army were soon in readiness, and as well arrayed as on the former day. The French were also drawn out by sun-rise. The cardinal, returning again that morning, imagined that, by his exhortations, he could

could pacify both parties: but the French told him to return where he pleased, and not attempt bringing them any more treaties or pacifications, else worse might betide him.

When the cardinal saw that he laboured in vain, he took leave of the king of France, and set out toward the prince of Wales, to whom he said; 'Fair son, exert yourself as much as possible, for there must be a battle; I cannot by any means pacify the king of France.' The prince replied, 'that such were the intentions of him and his army: and God defend the right.' The cardinal then took leave of him, and returned to Poitiers.

In his company, there were some knights and men at arms more inclined to the French than to the English, who, when they saw that a battle was unavoidable, stole away from their master, and, joining the French forces, chose for their leader the castellan of Amposta*, who at that time was attached to the cardinal.

The cardinal knew nothing of this, until he was arrived at Poitiers.

The arrangement of the prince's army, in respect to the battalions, was exactly the same as what the three knights before named had related to the king of France, except that at this time he had ordered some valiant and intelligent knights to remain on horseback, similar to the battalion of the French marshals, and had also commanded three hundred

* Among the cortes of Spain was the castellan of Amposta.

men at arms, and as many archers on horseback, to post themselves on the right on a small hill, that was not too steep nor too high, and, by passing over its summit, to get round the wing of the duke of Normandy's battalion, who was in person at the foot of it. These were all the alterations the prince had made in his order of battle: he himself was with the main body, in the midst of the vineyards: the whole completely armed, with their horses near, if there should be occasion for them.

They had fortified and inclosed the weaker parts, with their waggons and baggage.

I wish to name some of the most renowned knights, who were with the prince of Wales. There were Thomas Beauchamp earl of Warwick, John Vere earl of Oxford, William Mountacute earl of Salisbury, Robert Hufford earl of Suffolk, Ralph lord Stafford, the earl of Stafford, the lord Richard Stafford, brother to the earl, sir John Chandos, the lord Reginald Cobham, the lord Edward Spencer, the lord James Audley and his brother the lord Peter, the lord Thomas Berkley (son of the lord Maurice Berkley who died at Calais nine years before), Ralph lord Basset of Drayton, John lord Warren (eldest son to John Plantagenet late earl of Warren, Strathern, and Surry, by his first lady Maude de Hereford), Peter lord Mauley, the sixth of the name, the lord John Willoughby de Eresby, the lord Bartholomew de Burghersh, the lord William Felton and the lord Thomas Felton his brother, the lord Thomas Bradestan; sir Walter Pavely,

Pavely, sir Stephen Cossington, sir Matthew Gournay, sir William de la More, and other English.

From Gascony, there were the lord of Pumiens, the lord d'Albret, the captal de Buch, the lord John de Chaumont, the lord de l'Esparre, the lord of Rosen, the lord of Cousen, the lord de Montferrand, the lord de Landulas, the lord Souldich de la Trane*, and many more whom I cannot remember.

Of Hainaulters, there were sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, the lord John de Guystelle, and two other strangers, the lord Daniel Phaselle and lord Denis de Morbeque.

The whole army of the prince, including everyone, did not amount to more than eight thousand: when the French, counting all sorts of persons, were upwards of sixty thousand combatants; among whom were more than three thousand knights.

* He is called *sir Sandich de la Trane* in the account of the knights of the garter. See Anstis' Order of the Garter, where there is a short history of him. He supposes the word Souldich (but says he can nowhere find the meaning of it) to be that of some office, like to captal, which, in the customs of Bourdeaux, article 75, is ranked with the viscounts and barons.

CHAP. CLX.

THE BATTLE OF POITIERS, BETWEEN THE PRINCE
OF WALES AND THE KING OF FRANCE.

WHEN the prince of Wales saw, from the departure of the cardinal without being able to obtain any honourable terms, that a battle was inevitable, and that the king of France held both him and his army in great contempt, he thus addressed himself to them: ‘Now, my gallant fellows, what though we be a small body when compared to the army of our enemies; do not let us be cast down on that account, for victory does not always follow numbers, but where the Almighty God pleases to bestow it. If, through good fortune, the day shall be ours, we will gain the greatest honor and glory in this world: if the contrary should happen, and we be slain, I have a father and beloved brethren alive, and you all have some relations, or good friends, who will be sure to revenge our deaths. I therefore intreat of you to exert yourselves, and combat manfully; for, if it please God and St. George, you shall see me this day act like a true knight.’

By such words and arguments as these, the prince harangued his men; as did the marshals, by his orders; so that they were all in high spirits.

Sir John Chandos placed himself near the prince, to guard and advise him; and never, during that day, would he, on any account, quit his post.

The

The lord James Audeley remained also a considerable time near him ; but, when he saw that they must certainly engage, he said to the prince ; ‘ Sir, I have ever served most loyally my lord your father, and yourself, and shall continue so to do, as long as I have life. Dear sir, I must now acquaint you, that formerly I made a vow, if ever I should be engaged in any battle where the king your father or any of his sons were, that I would be the foremost in the attack, and the best combatant on his side, or die in the attempt. I beg therefore most earnestly, as a reward for any services I may have done, that you would grant me permission honourably to quit you, that I may post myself in such wise to accomplish my vow.’

The prince granted his request, and, holding out his hand to him, said ; ‘ Sir James, God grant that this day you may shine in valour above all other knights.’ The knight then set off, and posted himself at the front of the battalion, with only four squires whom he had detained with him to guard his person. This lord James was a prudent and valiant knight ; and by his advice the army had thus been drawn up in order of battle.

Lord James began to advance, in order to fight with the battalion of the marshals.

In like manner, sir Eustace d’Ambreticourt took great pains to be the first to engage, and was so, or near it : and, at the time that lord James Audeley was pushing forward to seek his enemies, it thus befel sir Eustace. I mentioned before, that the Ger-
mans

mans attached to the French interest were drawn up in one battalion on horseback, and remained so, to assist the marshals. Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, being mounted, placed his lance in its rest, and, fixing his shield, stuck spurs into his horse, and galloped up to this battalion. A German knight, called lord Lewis von Coucibras (who bore for arms five roses, gules, on a shield argent, while those of sir Eustace were ermine, three humets, in pale gules), perceiving sir Eustace quit his army, left his battalion that was under the command of earl John of Nassau, and made up to him: the shock of their meeting was so violent, that they both fell to the ground. The German was wounded in the shoulder, so that he could not rise again so nimbly as sir Eustace, who, when upon his legs, after he had taken breath, was hastening to the knight that lay on the ground; but five German men at arms came upon him, struck him down, and made him prisoner. They led him to those that were attached to the earl of Nassau, who did not pay much attention to him, nor do I know if they made him swear himself their prisoner; but they tied him to a car with some of their harness.

The engagement now began on both sides; and the battalion of the marshals was advancing before those who were intended to break the battalion of the archers, and had entered the lane where the hedges on both sides were lined by the archers; who, as soon as they saw them fairly entered, began shooting with their bows in such an excellent manner, from each side of the hedge, that the horses,

smarting under the pain of the wounds made by their bearded arrows, would not advance, but turned about; and, by their unruliness, threw their masters, who could not manage them, nor could those that had fallen get up again for the confusion; so that this battalion of the marshals could never approach that of the prince: however, there were some knights and squires so well mounted, that, by the strength of their horses, they passed through, and broke the hedge, but, in spite of their efforts, could not get up to the battalion of the prince. The lord James Audley, attended by his four squires*, had placed himself, sword in hand, in front of this battalion, much before the rest, and was performing wonders. He had advanced, through his eagerness, so far, that he engaged the lord Arnold d'Andreghen, marshal of France, under his banner, when they fought a considerable time, and the lord Arnold was roughly enough treated. The battalion of the marshals was soon after put to the rout by the arrows of the archers, and the assistance of the men at arms, who rushed among them as they were struck down, and seized and slew them at their pleasure. The lord Arnold d'Andreghen was there made prisoner, but by others than the lord James Audley or his four squires; for that knight never stopped to make any one his prisoner that day, but was the whole time employed in fighting and following his enemies.

* Their names were: Dutton of Dutton,—Delves of Dodington,—Fowlehurst of Crew,—Hawkestone of Wainehill.—*Ashmole's Garter.*

In another part, the lord John Clermont fought under his banner as long as he was able; but, being struck down, he could neither get up again nor procure his ransom: he was killed on the spot. Some say, this treatment was owing to his altercation on the preceding day with sir John Chandos.

In a short time, this battalion of the marshals was totally discomfited; for they fell back so much on each other, that the army could not advance, and those who were in the rear, not being able to get forward, fell back upon the battalion commanded by the duke of Normandy, which was broad and thick in the front, but it was soon thin enough in the rear; for, when they learnt that the marshals had been defeated, they mounted their horses and set off. At this time, a body of English came down from the hill, and, passing along the battalions on horseback, accompanied by a large body of archers, fell upon one of the wings of the duke of Normandy's division. To say the truth, the English archers were of infinite service to their army; for they shot so thickly and so well, that the French did not know which way to turn themselves, to avoid their arrows: by this means they kept advancing by little and little, and gained ground.

When the men at arms perceived that the first battalion was beaten, and that the one under the duke of Normandy was in disorder, and beginning to open, they hastened to mount their horses, which they had, ready prepared, close at hand. As soon as they were all mounted, they gave a shout of

‘ St. George, for Guienne !’ and sir John Chandos said to the prince ; ‘ Sir, sir, now push forward, for the days is ours : God will this day put it in your hand. Let us make for our adversary the king of France ; for where he is will lie the main stress of the business : I well know that his valour will not let him fly ; and he will remain with us, if it please God and St. George : but he must be well fought with ; and you have before said, that you would shew yourself this day a good knight.’ The prince replied ; ‘ John, get forward ; you shall not see me turn my back this day, but I will always be among the foremost.’ He then said to sir Walter Woodland, his banner-bearer, ‘ Banner advance, in the name of God and St. George.’ The knight obeyed the commands of the prince. In that part, the battle was very hot, and greatly crowded : many a one was unhorsed : and you must know, that whenever any one fell, he could not get up again, unless he were quickly and well assisted.

As the prince was thus advancing upon his enemies, followed by his division, and upon the point of charging them, he perceived the lord Robert de Duras lying dead near a small bush on his right hand, with his banner beside him, and ten or twelve of his people ; upon which he ordered two of his squires and three archers to place the body upon a shield, carry it to Poitiers, and present it from him to the cardinal of Perigord, and say, that ‘ I salute him by that token.’ This was done ; for he had been informed how the suite of the cardinal had remained

mained in the field of battle in arms against him, which was not very becoming, nor a fit deed for churchmen to do, as they, under pretext of doing good and establishing peace, pass from one army to the other, they ought not therefore to take up arms on either side. These, however, had done so, at which the prince was much engaged, and for this had sent the cardinal his nephew sir Robert de Duras, and was desirous of striking off the head of the castellan of Amposta, who had been made prisoner, notwithstanding he belonged to the cardinal; but sir John Chandos said, ‘My lord, do not think of such things at this moment, when you must look to others of the greatest importance: perhaps the cardinal may excuse himself so well, that you will be convinced he was not to blame.’

The prince, upon this, charged the division of the duke of Athens, and very sharp the encounter was, so that many were beaten down. The French, who fought in large bodies, cried out, ‘Montjoye St. Dennis!’ and the English answered them with, ‘St. George for Guienne!’

The prince next met the battalion of Germans, under the command of the earl of Saltzburg, the earl of Nassau, and the earl of Neydo; but they were soon overthrown, and put to flight. The English archers shot so well, that none dared to come within reach of their arrows, and they put to death many who could not ransom themselves. The three above-named earls were slain there, as well as many other knights and squires attached to

them. In the confusion, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt was rescued by his own men, who remounted him: he afterwards performed many gallant deeds of arms, and made good captures that day.

When the battalion of the duke of Normandy saw the prince advancing so quick upon them, they bethought themselves how to escape. The sons of the king, the duke of Normandy, the earl of Poitiers, and the earl of Touraine, who were very young, too easily believed what those under whose management they were placed said to them: however, the lord Guiscard d'Angle and sir John de Saintré, who were near the earl of Poitiers, would not fly, but rushed into the thickest of the combat.

The three sons of the king, according to the advice given them, galloped away, with upwards of eight hundred lances who had never been near the enemy, and took the road to Chauvigny.

When the lord John de Landas, who, with the lord Theobald de Bodenay and the lord of St. Venant, were the guardians of the duke of Normandy, had fled with him a good league, they took leave of him, and besought the lord of St. Venant not to quit him until they were all arrived at a place of safety; for, by doing thus, he would acquire more honor than if he were to remain on the field of battle. On their return, they met the division of the duke of Orleans, quite whole and unhurt, who had fled from behind the rear of the king's battalion. True it is, there were many good knights and squires among them, who, notwithstanding the flight

flight of their leaders, had much rather have suffered death than the smallest reproach*.

The king's battalion advanced in good order, to meet the English: many hard blows were given with swords, battle-axes, and other warlike weapons. The king of France, with the lord Philip his youngest son, attacked the division of the marshals, the earls of Warwick and Suffolk: there were also with the marshals some Gascons, such as the captain de Buch, the lord of Pumiers, the lord Aymery de Charree, the lord of Languran, the lord de l'Estade. The lord John de Landas, with the lord Theobald de Bodenay, returning in good time, dismounted, and joined the battalion of the king.

* My manuscripts make here a new chapter, and it begins as follows;

'You have heard before related in this history the battle of Crecy, and how fortune was marvellously unfavourable to the French. They had equal ill luck at the battle of Poitiers; for the French men at arms were at least seven to one. It must therefore be looked upon as very unfortunate that, with this advantage, they could not gain the field from their enemies. But, to say the truth, this battle of Poitiers was much better fought than that of Crecy; and the men at arms had more leisure, and better opportunities to observe their enemies, than they had at Crecy; for that battle did not begin before vespers, and with an army in disorder, whilst the battle of Poitiers commenced early in the morning, and the French army well arranged. There were many more gallant deeds performed without comparison, in this than in the former battle; and there were not so many great lords slain. Those that were there behaved themselves so loyally, that their heirs, to this day, are honoured for their sake.'

On one side, the duke of Athens, constable of France, was engaged with his division; and, a little higher up, the duke of Bourbon, surrounded with good knights, from the Bourbons and Picardy.

Near to these were the men of Poitou, the lord de Pons, the lord de Partenay, the lord de Dampmaire, the lord de Montabouton, the lord de Surgeres, the lord John de Saintré, the lord Guiscard d'Angle, the lord d'Argenton, the lord de Linieres, the lord de Montrande, the viscount de Rochouart, the earl of Aulnoy. Many others were also engaged, such as the lord James de Beaujeu, the lord of Chateau Villain, and other knights and squires from Burgundy.

In another part were the earls of Vantadour and Montpensier, the lord James de Bourbon, the lord John d'Artois, and the lord James his brother, the lord Arnold de Cervolle, surnamed the Archpriest, armed as the young earl of Alençon.

There were also from Auvergne, the lord de Marcueil, the lord de la Tour, the lord de Chailenton, the lord de Montagu, the lord de Rochefort, the lord de la Chaire, the lord d'Achon; and from Limousin, the lord de Linal, the lord de Noruel, and the lord Pierre de Buffiere.

From Picardy, there were the lord William de Merle, the lord Arnold de Renneval, the lord Geoffry de St. Dizier, the lord de Chauny, the lord de Hely, the lord de Monfant, the lord de Hagnes, and many others.

The

The lord Douglas*, from Scotland, was also in the king's battalion, and for some time fought very valiantly; but, when he perceived the discomfiture
was

* ' Lord Douglas, forgetful of his religious pilgrimage, offered his sword to the French king. He was received with distinguished honours, ' was made a knight of his hande,' Scala Chron. ap. Leland, and his service was accepted. To say that a person received the honour of knighthood, is, in modern language, uninteresting, and sometimes it is ludicrous. This must always be the case, when names and ceremonies are retained, while from a total change of manners, that which gave dignity to such names and ceremonies is forgotten by the vulgar.

' Great carnage was made of the Scots at the battle of Poitiers. Lord Douglas, after having been wounded, was forced off the field by his surviving companions. Archibald Douglas, a warrior eminent in our history, fell into the power of the enemy; but, by the extraordinary presence of mind of sir William Ramsay of Colluthy, he was concealed, and escaped unknown.

' The story of Archibald Douglas's escape, as related by Fordun, is curious. It shall be translated as nearly as possible in his own manner. ' Archibald Douglas, having been made prisoner along with the rest, appeared in more sumptuous armour than the other Scottish prisoners; and, therefore, he was supposed by the English to be some great lord. Late in the evening after the battle, when the English were about to strip off his armour, sir William Ramsay of Colluthy, happening to be present, fixed his eyes on Archibald Douglas, and, affecting to be in a violent passion, cried out, *You cursed, damnable murderer, how comes it, in the name of mischief (ex parte diaboli), that you are thus proudly decked out in your master's armour? Come hither, and pull off my boots.* Douglas approached trembling, kneeled down, and pulled off one of the boots. Ramsay, taking up the boot, beat Douglas with it. The English bystanders, imagining him out of his
senses,

was complete on the side of the French, he saved himself as fast as he could ; for he dreaded so much being taken by the English, that he had rather have been slain.

The lord James Audley, with the assistance of his four squires, was always engaged in the heat of the battle. He was severely wounded in the body, head and face ; and as long as his strength and breath permitted him, he maintained the fight, and advanced forward : he continued to do so until he was covered with blood : then, towards the close of the engagement, his four squires, who were as his body-guard, took him, and led him out of the engagement, very weak and wounded, towards a

senses, interposed, and rescued Douglas. They said, that the person whom he had beaten was certainly of great rank, and a lord. *What, he a lord ?* cried Ramsay : *he is a scullion, and a base knave, and, as I suppose, has killed his master. Go, you villain, to the field, search for the body of my cousin, your master ; and when you have found it, come back, that at least, I may give him a decent burial.* Then he ransomed the feigned serving man for forty shillings ; and, having buffeted him smartly, he cried, *Get you gone ; fly.* Douglas bore all this patiently, carried on the deceit, and was soon beyond the reach of his enemies.’

‘ This story, as to some of its circumstances, may not seem altogether probable ; yet, in the main, it has the appearance of truth. Had I been at liberty to vary the narrative, I would have made Ramsay suspect, that the feigned serving man had stripped his master, after he had been slain or mortally wounded. This Archibald was the natural son of the renowned sir James Douglas, slain by the Saracens in Granada.’

Lord Hailes's Annals of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 240, 241.
 hedge,

hedge, that he might cool and take breath. They disarmed him as gently as they could, in order to examine his wounds, dress them, and sew up the most dangerous.

King John, on his part, proved himself a good knight; and, if the fourth of his people had behaved as well, the day would have been his own. Those, however, who had remained with him acquitted themselves to the best of their power, and were either slain or taken prisoners. Scarcely any who were with the king attempted to escape.

Among the slain, were the duke Peter de Bourbon, the duke of Athens, constable of France, the bishop of Chalons* in Champagne, the lord Guiscard de Beaujeu, and the lord of Landas.

The archpriest, sir Theobald de Bodenay and the lord of Pompadour, were made prisoners, badly

* *The bishop of Chalons.* We see, by the example of this prelate and of the archbishop of Sens, who assisted at the battle of Poitiers, that the custom, arising out of the feudal law, which obliged ecclesiastics to personal service in the armies, subsisted in many parts of France. The laws of the church condemned this practice, to which their temporal possessions subjugated the clergy. This contradiction in the form of our government with the spirit of our religion existed until the practice was insensibly abolished by different dispensations, and exchanged for contributions of money and men. Francis I. by his edict of the 4th July 1541, regulated the clauses for their exemption. Since that period, the clergy have been exempted from service of ban and arriere ban, by different letters patent, and particularly by an edict of the 29th April 1636, under Lewis XIII.—*Villaret Hist. de France*, vol. v. p. 104.

wounded.

wounded. In another part of the field of battle, the earls of Vaudemont and Genville, and the earl of Vendôme were prisoners. Not far from that spot were slain, the lord William de Nesle and the lord Eustace de Ribeaumont, the lord de la Tour and the lord William de Montagu. The lord Lewis de Melval, the lord Pierre de Buffiere and the lord de Senerach, were taken. In this engagement, upwards of two hundred knights and squires were killed or captured.

A band of Norman knights still kept up the battle, in another part of the field; and of these, sir Guinenton de Chambly and sir Baudrin de la House were slain: many others were discomfited, who were fighting in small bodies.



CHAP. CLX.

TWO FRENCHMEN, RUNNING AWAY FROM THE BATTLE OF POITIERS, ARE PURSUED BY TWO ENGLISHMEN, WHO ARE THEMSELVES MADE PRISONERS.

AMONG the battles, skirmishes, flights and pursuits, which happened in the course of this day, an adventure befel sir Edward de Roucy, which I cannot omit relating in this place. He had left the field of battle, as he perceived the day was irrecoverably lost; and, not wishing to fall into the hands of the English, was got about a league off; when he was pursued by an English knight, his lance in
the

the rest, who cried to him, ‘ Sir knight, turn about : you ought to be ashamed thus to fly.’ Upon this, sir Edward halted, and the Englishman attacked him, thinking to fix his lance in his target ; but he failed, for sir Edward turned the stroke aside, nevertheless he did not miss his own : with his spear he hit his enemy so violent a blow on the helmet, that he was stunned and fell to the ground, where he remained senseless.

Sir Edward dismounted, and, placing his lance on his breast, told him that he would certainly kill him, if he did not surrender himself his prisoner, rescued or not. The Englishman surrendered, and went with sir Edward, who afterward ransomed him.

It happened that, in the midst of the general pursuit, a squire from Picardy, named John de Helennes, had quitted the king’s division, and, meeting his page with a fresh horse, had mounted him, and made off as fast as he could. At that time, there was near to him the lord of Berkeley, a young knight, who, for the first time, had that day displayed his banner : he immediately set out in pursuit of him.

When the lord of Berkeley had followed him for some little time, John de Helennes turned about, put his sword under his arm in the manner of a lance, and thus advanced upon the lord Berkeley, who taking his sword by the handle, flourished it, and lifted up his arm in order to strike the squire as he passed. John de Helennes, seeing the intended stroke, avoided it, but did not miss his own ; for as
they

they passed each other, by a blow on the arm he made lord Berkeley's sword fall to the ground. When the knight found that he had lost his sword, and that the squire had his, he dismounted, and made for the place where his sword lay : but he could not get there before the squire gave him a violent thrust which passed through both his thighs, so that, not being able to help himself, he fell to the ground. John upon this dismounted, and, seizing the sword of the knight, advanced up to him and asked him if he were willing to surrender.

The knight required his name: ' I am called John de Helennes,' said he, ' what is your name ?' ' In truth, companion,' replied the knight, my name is Thomas, and I am lord of Berkeley, a very handsome castle situated on the river Severn, on the borders of Wales.' ' Lord of Berkeley,' said the squire, ' you shall be my prisoner : I will place you in safety, and take care you are healed, for you appear to me to be badly wounded.' The knight answered, ' I surrender myself willingly, for you have loyally conquered me.' He gave him his word that he would be his prisoner, rescued or not. John then drew his sword out of the knight's thigh, and the wounds remained open ; but he bound them up tightly, and, placing him on his horse, led him a foot-pace to Châtelherault.

He continued there, out of friendship to him, for fifteen days, and had medicines administered to him. When the knight was a little recovered, he had him placed in a litter, and conducted him safe to his house in Picardy ; where he remained more
than

than a year before he was quite cured, though he continued lame; and when he departed, he paid for his ransom six thousand nobles, so that this squire became a knight by the great profit he got from the lord of Berkeley.

CHAP. CLXI.

THE MANNER IN WHICH KING JOHN WAS TAKEN PRISONER AT THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

IT often happens, that fortune in war and love turns out more favourable and wonderful than could have been hoped for or expected. To say the truth, this battle which was fought near Poitiers, in the plains of Beauvoir and Maupertuis, was very bloody and perilous: many gallant deeds of arms were performed that were never known, and the combatants on each side suffered much. King John himself did wonders: he was armed with a battle-axe, with which he fought and defended himself. The earl of Tancarville, in endeavouring to break through the crowd, was made prisoner close to him; as were also sir James de Bourbon, earl of Ponthieu, and the lord John d'Artois, earl of Eu. In another part, a littler farther off, the lord Charles d'Artois and many other knights and squires were captured by the division under the banner of the capital de Buch. The pursuit continued even to the gates of Poitiers, where there was much slaughter and overthrow of men and horses; for the inhabitants of Poitiers had shut their gates, and would
 4 suffer

suffer none to enter : upon which account, there was great butchery on the causeway, before the gate; where such numbers were killed or wounded, that several surrendered themselves the moment they spied an Englishman; and there were many English archers who had four, five, or six prisoners.

The lord of Pons, a powerful baron in Poitou, was slain there, as were several other knights and squires. The viscount de Rochechouart, the lords de Parthenay and de Saintonge, the lord of Montendre, were taken prisoners; as was the lord John de Saintr  , but so beaten that he never afterward recovered his health: he was looked upon as the most accomplished knight in France. The lord Guiscard d'Angle was left for slain among the dead: he had fought well that day.

The lord de Chargny, who was near the king, combated bravely during the whole engagement: he was always in the crowd, because he carried the king's sovereign banner: his own also was displayed in the field, with his arms, which were three escutcheons argent on a field gules. The English and Gascons poured so fast upon the king's division that they broke through the ranks by force; and the French were so intermixed with their enemies that at times there were five men attacking one gentleman. The lord of Pompadour and the lord Bartholomew de Brunes were there captured. The lord de Chargny was slain, with the banner of France in his hands, by the lord Reginald Cobham; and afterwards the earl of Dammartin shared the same fate.

There

There was much preffing at this time, through eagerness to take the king; and those who were nearest to him, and knew him, cried out, 'Surrender yourself, surrender yourself, or you are a dead man.' In that part of the field was a young knight from St. Omer, who was engaged by a salary in the service of the king of England; his name was Denys de Morbeque; who for five years had attached himself to the English, on account of having been banished in his younger days from France for a murder committed in an affray at St. Omer. It fortunately happened for this knight that he was at the time near to the king of France; when he was so much pulled about; he, by dint of force, for he was very strong and robust, pushed through the crowd, and said to the king in good French, 'Sire, sire, surrender yourself.' The king who found himself very disagreeably situated, turning to him, asked, 'To whom shall I surrender myself: to whom? Where is my cousin the prince of Wales? if I could see him, I would speak to him.' 'Sire,' replied Sir Denys, 'he is not here; but surrender yourself to me, and I will lead you to him.' 'Who are you?' said the king. 'Sire, I am Denys de Morbeque, a knight from Artois; but I serve the king of England, because I cannot belong to France, having forfeited all I possessed there.' The king then gave him his right hand glove, and said, 'I surrender myself to you.' There was much crowding and pushing about, for every one was eager to cry out, 'I have taken him.' Neither the king nor his youngest son Philip were

able to get forward, and free themselves from the throng.

The prince of Wales, who was as courageous as a lion, took great delight that day to combat his enemies. Sir John Chandos, who was near his person, and had never quitted it during the whole of the day, nor stopped to make prisoners, said to him towards the end of the battle ; ‘ Sir, it will be proper for you to halt here, and plant your banner on the top of this bush, which will serve to rally your forces, that seem very much scattered ; for I do not see any banners or pennons of the French ; nor any considerable bodies able to rally against us ; and you must refresh yourself a little, as I perceive you are very much heated.’

Upon this the banner of the prince was placed on a high bush : the minstrels began to play, and trumpets and clarions to do their duty. The prince took off his helmet, and the knights attendant on his person, and belonging to his chamber, were soon ready, and pitched a small pavilion of crimson colour, which the prince entered. Liquor was then brought to him and the other knights who were with him : they increased every moment ; for they were returning from the pursuit, and stopped there surrounded by their prisoners.

As soon as the two marshals were come back, the prince asked them if they knew any thing of the king of France : they replied, ‘ No, sir ; not for a certainty ; but we believe he must be either killed or made prisoner, since he has never quitted his battalion.’ The prince then, addressing the earl of Warwick

Warwick and lord Cobham, said; 'I beg of you to mount your horses, and ride over the field, so that on your return you may bring me some certain intelligence of him.' The two barons, immediately mounting their horses, left the prince, and made for a small hillock, that they might look about them: from their stand they perceived a crowd of men at arms on foot, who were advancing very slowly. The king of France was in the midst of them, and in great danger; for the English and Gascons had taken him from sir Denys de Morbeque, and were disputing who should have him, the stoutest bawling out, 'It is I that have got him:' 'No, no,' replied the others, 'we have him.' The king, to escape from this peril, said, 'Gentlemen, gentlemen, I pray you conduct me and my son in a courteous manner to my cousin the prince; and do not make such a riot about my capture, for I am so great a lord that I can make all sufficiently rich.' These words, and others which fell from the king, appeased them a little; but the disputes were always beginning again, and they did not move a step without rioting. When the two barons saw this troop of people, they descended from the hillock; and sticking spurs into their horses, made up to them. On their arrival, they asked what was the matter: they were answered, that it was the king of France, who had been made prisoner, and that upwards of ten knights and squires challenged him at the same time, as belonging to each of them. The two barons then pushed through the crowd by main force, and ordered all to draw aside. They

commanded, in the name of the prince, and under pain of instant death, that every one should keep his distance, and not approach unless ordered or desired so to do. They all retreated behind the king; and the two barons, dismounting, advanced to the king with profound reverences, and conducted him in a peaceable manner to the prince of Wales.

CHAP. CLXII.

THE PRINCE OF WALES MAKES A HANDSOME PRESENT
TO THE LORD JAMES AUDLEY, AFTER THE BATTLE
OF POITIERS.

SOON after the earl of Warwick and the lord Reginald Cobham had left the prince, as has been above related, he inquired from those knights who were about him of lord James Audley, and asked if any one knew what was become of him: 'Yes, sir,' replied some of the company, 'he is very badly wounded, and is lying in a litter hard by.' 'By my troth,' replied the prince, 'I am fore vexed that he is so wounded. See, I beg of you, if he be able to bear being carried hither: otherwise I will come and visit him.' Two knights directly left the prince, and, coming to lord James, told him how desirous the prince was of seeing him. 'A thousand thanks to the prince,' answered lord James, 'for condescending to remember so poor a knight as myself.' He then called eight of his servants, and had himself borne in his litter to
where

where the prince was. When he was come into his presence, the prince bent down over him, and embraced him, saying; 'My lord James, I am bound to honour you very much; for, by your valour this day, you have acquired glory and renown above us all, and your prowess has proved you the bravest knight.' Lord James replied; 'My lord, you have a right to say whatever you please, but I wish it were as you have said. If I have this day been forward to serve you, it has been to accomplish a vow that I had made, and it ought not to be thought so much of.' 'Sir James,' answered the prince, 'I and all the rest of us deem you the bravest knight on our side in this battle; and to increase your renown, and furnish you withal to pursue your career of glory in war, I retain you henceforward, for ever, as my knight, with five hundred marks* of yearly revenue, which I will secure to you from my estates in England.' 'Sir,' said lord James, 'God make me deserving of the good fortune you bestow upon me.' At these words he took leave of the prince, as he was very weak, and his servants carried him back to his tent: he could not have been at a great distance, when the earl of Warwick and lord Reginald Cobham entered the pavilion of the prince, and presented the king of France to him.

The prince made a very low obeisance to the king, and gave him as much comfort as he was able, which he knew well how to administer. He

* The marc is 13s. 4d.—PHILLIPS.

ordered wine and spices to be brought, which he presented to the king himself, as a mark of his great affection.

CHAP. CLXIII.

THE ENGLISH GAIN VERY CONSIDERABLY AT THE
BATTLE OF POITIERS,

THUS was this battle won, as you have heard related, in the plains of Maupertuis, two leagues from the city of Poitiers, on the 19th day of September 1356*. It commenced about nine o'clock, and was ended by noon; but the English were not all returned from the pursuit, and it was to recall his people that the prince had placed his banner upon a high bush. They did not return till late after vespers from pursuing the enemy.

It was reported that all the flower of French knighthood were slain; and that, with the king and his son the lord Philip, seventeen earls, without counting barons, knights or squires, were made prisoners, and from five to six thousand of all sorts left dead in the field.

* Froissart calls it the 22d day of September 1357; but Bouchet proves it to be a mistake, in his *Annales d'Aquitaine*, from the registers of the convent where the noblemen that were slain were buried: and in my two MSS. it is 1356.

Also in the *Annales Rerum Anglicarum*, *Willelmi Wincester*, 1356. 'Hoc anno, XIX die Septembris, captio regis Johannis Franciæ, per Edwardum principem.'

When they were all collected, they found they had twice as many prisoners as themselves: they therefore consulted, if, considering the risk they might run, it would not be more advisable to ransom them on the spot. This was done: and the prisoners found the English and Gascons very civil, for there were many set at liberty that day on their promise of coming to Bourdeaux before Christmas to pay their ransom.

When all were returned to their banners, they retired to their camp, which was adjoining to the field of battle. Some disarmed themselves, and did the same to their prisoners, to whom they shewed every kindness; for whoever made any prisoners, they were solely at his disposal, to ransom or not, as he pleased. It may be easily supposed that all those who accompanied the prince were very rich in glory and wealth, as well by the ransoms of their prisoners, as by the quantities of gold and silver plate, rich jewels, and trunks stuffed full of belts that were weighty from their gold and silver ornaments, and furred mantles. They set no value on armour, tents or other things; for the French had come there as magnificently and richly dressed as if they had been sure of gaining the victory.

CHAP. CXLIV.

**THE LORD JAMES AUDLEY GIVES TO HIS SQUIRES
THE PENSION OF FIVE HUNDRED MARCS HE
HAD RECEIVED FROM THE PRINCE.**

WHEN the lord James Audley was brought back to his tent, after having most respectfully thanked the prince for his gift, he did not remain long before he sent for his brother sir Peter Audley, the lord Bartholomew Burghersh, sir Stephen Cossington, lord Willoughby of Eresby and lord William Ferrers of Groby: they were all his relations. He then sent for his four squires that had attended upon him that day, and, addressing himself to the knights, said; ‘Gentlemen, it has pleased my lord the prince to give me five hundred marcs as a yearly inheritance; for which gift I have done him very trifling bodily service. You see here these four squires, who have always served me most loyally, and especially in this day’s engagement. What glory I may have gained has been through their means, and by their valour: on which account I wish to reward them. I therefore give and resign into their hands the gift of five hundred marcs, which my lord the prince has been pleased to bestow me, in the same form and manner that it has been presented to me. I disinherit myself of it, and give it to them simply, and without a possibility of revoking it.’

The knights present looked on each other, and said, ‘It is becoming the noble mind of lord James
to

to make such a gift,' and then unanimously added; 'May the Lord God remember you for it! We will bear witness of this gift to them wheresoever and whensoever they may call on us.'

They then took leave of him; when some went to the prince of Wales, who that night was to give a supper to the king of France from his own provisions; for the French had brought vast quantities with them, which were now fallen into the hands of the English, many of whom had not tasted bread for the last three days.

CHAP. CLXV.

THE PRINCE OF WALES ENTERTAINS THE KING OF FRANCE AT SUPPER, THE EVENING AFTER THE BATTLE.

WHEN evening was come, the prince of Wales gave a supper in his pavilion to the king of France, and to the greater part of the princes and barons who were prisoners. The prince seated the king of France and his son the lord Philip at an elevated and well covered table; with them were Sir James de Bourbon, the lord John d'Artois, the earls of Tancarville, of Estampes, of Dammartin, of Graville, and the lord of Partenay. The other knights and squires were placed at different tables.

The prince himself served the king's table, as well as the others, with every mark of humility, and would not sit down at it, in spite of all his intreaties for him so to do, saying, that 'he was not worthy

worthy of such an honor, nor did it appertain to him to seat himself at the table of so great a king, or of so valiant a man as he had shewn himself by his actions that day.' He added also with a noble air; 'Dear sir, do not make a poor meal because the Almighty God has not gratified your wishes in the event of this day; for be assured that my lord and father will shew you every honor and friendship in his power, and will arrange your ransom so reasonably, that you will henceforward always remain friends. In my opinion, you have cause to be glad that the success of this battle did not turn out as you desired; for you have this day acquired such high renown for prowess, that you have surpassed all the best knights on your side. I do not, dear sir, say this to flatter you, for all those of our side who have seen and observed the actions of each party, have unanimously allowed this to be your due, and decree you the prize and garland for it.'

At the end of this speech there were murmurs of praise heard from every one; and the French said, the prince had spoken nobly and truly, and that he would be one of the most gallant princes in Christendom, if God should grant him life to pursue his career of glory*.

CHAP.

* Extract taken from the convent of the Freres Mineurs, in the city of Poitiers, of the names of those knights who were slain in the battle of Poitiers, and other gentlemen that were buried in that convent.

'First, the underneath knights:

The

CHAP. CLXVI.

THE PRINCE OF WALES RETURNS TO BOURDEAUX,
AFTER THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

WHEN they had supped and sufficiently regaled themselves, each departed to his lodging with the knights and squires they had captured. Those that

The duke of Athens, constable of France	Sir John de Grillon
The bishop of Chalon, (Regnauld Chaveau—Chronique de Wassebourg)	M. de Chitre, lord de Rade- monde
M. André, viscount de Chauvigny	M. Clerin de Cherues
Sir Lewis de Brosse	M. Baudin de Gargalingaen
Sir John, lord of Mailly in Berry	Sir Anfaulme de Hois
Sir Geoffry de Chargny in Champagne	Sir Michael de Pommeoy
M. de Montjouan	Sir Richard de Beaulieu
Sir John de Lisle	Sir William de Fuylle
Sir Gris Mouton de Chambely	Sir Hugh Bonnyu
Sir Peter de Chambely, his brother	M. Dannée de Melon
M. de Chateau Vilain, in Champagne	Sir William de Creneur
Sir John de Montigny	Sir William de Linnieres
Sir John de Maulmont	Sir Olivier de St. Giles
Sir John de Bourbon	Sir William de Romeneul
Sir Philip de Boutennillier	Sir John de Cranches
Sir Hugh de Maille	M. Yvon du Pont, lord of Rochecheruiere
Sir Geoffry de St. Dizier	Sir William de Mongy
Sir Aymery de la Barre	Sir John de Tigny
Sir William de Blefe	Sir John Brigdene
	Sir John de Noirterre
	Sir William de Paty
	Sir Robert de Chalus
	Sir Adam de Beauvilliers
	Sir Bonabes de Roges
	Sir Vynies de St. Denis

Sir

that had taken them asked, what they could pay for their ransoms, without much hurting their fortunes;

Sir Macé de Grosbois	William de la Jarracere
Sir Louis de Nully	William Griauc
Sir Simon Oynepuille	Olivier de Rosay
Sir Henry, his brother	Girard Delec
M. de Champrecour	Berart de Lemont
Sir William Sauvage	Heymonnet Embert
Sir William du Retail	Jobert d'Artoy
Sir Sequin de Cloux	Richard de Vendel
M. le Vidame de la Roche	William Seurin
Dagon	John du Flume
Sir Raoul de Refay	John Defleat
Sir John de Mirabeau	Guy de Bournay
Sir Guiscard de Chantylon	Le Moine de Montigny
M. Ancelin de Caron, lord of	Guinet de Buysson
Hes	John de Brinac
M. Guy des Barres, lord of	Ymbert de Chamborant
Chaumont	Brunet d'Augun
Sir John de Cloys	John Sarrayn
M. le Borgne de Prie.	Peter de St. Denis
SQUIRES.	Perrine de Pache
Bernard de Douzenac	Ferry Pate
Robert Gilles de Miraumont	John Dynie
Guicheux de Maronnay	Le Petit d'Inchequin
Girard de Pierre	Jehannot de Moutabis
William de la Fosse	Jolivet Buffart
Robert de la Roche Pierre de	John de Bourmeuille
Bras	John Martin
John Ribriche, lord of Corbon	Ardouyn de la Touche
Celart Heraufant	William de Lufange
Hopart de Hanpedourt	Le Petit Bidaut de la Roche-
Guymon Pery	degon.

Many other bodies slain at the aforefaid battle, by licence from the official, and permission of the mayor of Poitiers, were brought in carts from the Freres Mineurs of that town, and

tunes; and willingly believed whatever they told them; for they had declared publicly, that they did

and buried in large graves in their church-yard, without the church, the feast-day of St. Valentine 1356; and honourable obsequies were performed in all the churches and convents in the town of Poitiers, at the cost of the good citizens of that town.

‘ Underneath are the names of those who were buried in the church of les Freres Prescheurs, of the town of Poitiers, which I have taken and extracted from the book called the Kalendar of the Convent, and translated from the Latin into French, chapter fifth.

The duke of Bourbon on the right of the great altar.

The marechal de Clermont on the opposite side.

Lower down, but near him, sir Aubert d’Anget.

After him the viscount de Rochechouart.

In the middle of the choir, Aymer de la Rochefoucault.

At the entrance of the choir, on the right, sir John de Sancerre.

In the chapel of the Magdalen, sir John de St. Didier.

In the same chapel, near the wall, Thibaut de Laval.

In the chapel of the Apostles, near the wall, sir Thomas de Motuz.

In the chapel of our Lady, sir Walter de Montagu.

Adjoining to him, sir Raoul Rabinard.

In the nave, near the door, sir John Ferchaut.

Near to him, sir Peter Marchadier, and Heliot his brother.

Opposite the statue of St. Michael, sir Oliver de Mouville.

On the other side, sir Philip de Forges.

Before the great door, sir William de Bar and sir John de Nully.

‘ The names of those who were interred in the cloisters of the said convent:

Le chevalier Miloton

Sir John de Chambes

Sir John Macillon

Sir Oliver de St. George

Sir Ymbert de St. Saturnin

Sir John de Ridde

Sir

did not wish to deal harshly with any knight or squire that his ransom should be so burdensome as to prevent his following the profession of arms, or advancing his fortune.

Sir Hugh Odard	Sir Lewis Descrinel
Sir Giles Cherchemont	Sir John de Vernicourt
Sir John de Senycé	Sir Peter Audouyn
Sir Wm. de Digoyne and his son	Sir John de Vernoil
Sir John Drouyn de Metz in	Sir John de Montmorillon and
Lorraine	his son
Sir Robert d'Aulnay	Sir Hugelin de Vaux
Master John Dannemarie	Sir John de Almaine
Sir John de la Laing	The lord d'Espraigny
Sir Simon de Renouille	Sir Hugh de Tinctes
Sir Philip de Pierreficte	The lord of St. Gildart
Sir William de Mausénac	Sir Henry de l'Aunoy
Sir William de Miners	Sir Girard de Helchemanc
Sir Raoul de Bouteillier	Sir Gourard-Guenif
Sir Peter de la Rocdete	Sir Vipert Beau
The lord de la Fayette	Sir Henry Michiuer
A German called Erroys Pin-	Sir John de Brie
cerne	Sir Raoul Seil
Sir Boulenuille, viscount d'Au-	Sir Symon de Blefy
malle	Sir Hugh Orry de Melle
Sir John Fretart	Sir Segnyn de Cluys
Sir Robert Daucre	Sir Thomas de Baignel
Sir John la Garde, ung appel	Sir Peter Baillon.
le filz de roy	

‘Eight were buried in three graves, whose names and surnames were unknown; and among them was the body of a knight, whose surcoat of arms was three chevrons or, in a shield gules.

‘The arms of all the princes, knights, and lords above-mentioned were blazoned on the stalls of the convent, in order to keep them in perpetual remembrance.’

Bouchet's Annales d'Aquitaine, 4 me partie, folio 15.

Towards

Towards morning, when these lords had heard mass, and had eaten and drank a little, whilst the servants were packing up or loading the baggage, they decamped and advanced towards Poitiers.

That same night, the lord of Roy had entered the city of Poitiers with a hundred lances, that had not been engaged in the battle, for, having met the duke of Normandy near Chauvigny, he had commanded him to march for Poitiers, and to guard it until he should receive other orders.

When the lord of Roye had entered Poitiers, he ordered the gates, towers, and walls to be well watched that night, on account of the English being so near; and on the morning he armed all sorts of people, and posted them wherever he judged most convenient for the defence of the town.

The English, however, passed by, without making any attempt upon it; for they were so laden with gold, silver, jewels, and great prisoners, that they did not attack any fortrefs in their march, but thought they should do great things if they were able to convey the king of France and his son, with all their booty, in safety to the city of Bourdeaux. They returned, therefore, by easy marches, on account of their prisoners and heavy baggage, never advancing more than four or five leagues a-day: they encamped early, and marched in one compact body, without quitting the road, except the division of the marshals, who advanced in front, with about five hundred men at arms, to clear the country. They met with no resistance any where; for the whole country was in a state of consternation, and

all the men at arms had retreated into the strong fortresses.

During this march, the prince of Wales was informed how lord James Audley had made a present of his pension of five hundred marcs to his four squires. He sent for him: lord James was carried in his litter to the presence of the prince, who received him very graciously, and said to him; ‘ Sir James, I have been informed, that after you had taken leave of me, and were returned to your tent, you made a present to your four squires of the gift I presented to you. I should like to know if this be true, why you did so, and if the gift were not agreeable to you.’

‘ Yes, my lord,’ answered lord James, ‘ it was most agreeable to me, and I will tell you the reasons which induced me to bestow it on my squires. These four squires, who are here, have long and loyally served me, on many great and dangerous occasions; and until the day that I made them this present, I had not any way rewarded them for all their services; and never in this life were they of such help to me as on that day. I hold myself much bound to them for what they did at the battle of Poitiers; for, dear sir, I am but a single man, and can do no more than my powers admit, but, through their aid and assistance, I have accomplished my vow, which for a long time I had made, and by their means was the first combatant, and should have paid for it with my life, if they had not been near to me. When, therefore, I consider their courage, and the love they bear to
me,

me, I should not have been courteous nor grateful, if I had not rewarded them. Thank God, my lord, I have a sufficiency for my life, to maintain my state; and wealth has never yet failed me, nor do I believe it ever will. If, therefore, I have in this acted contrary to your wishes, I beseech you, dear sir, to pardon me; for you will be ever as loyally served by me and my squires, to whom I gave your present, as heretofore.' The prince answered; 'Sir James, I do not in the least blame you for what you have done, but, on the contrary, acknowledge your bounty to your squires whom you praise so much. I readily confirm your gift to them; but I shall insist upon your accepting of six hundred marcs, upon the same terms and conditions as the former gift.'

The prince of Wales and his army kept advancing, without meeting any obstacle, and, having passed through Poitou' and Saintonge, came to Blaye, where he crossed the Garonne, and arrived in the good city of Bourdeaux*.

It

* 'A letter from the Black Prince to the bishop of Worcester, dated 20th October 1356, relating to the battle of Poitiers, wherein the French king was made prisoner, &c. Ex registro Reginaldi Brien, Wigorn. episcopi, fol. 113.

'L'ra D'ni Principis Wall' de Capcione R. Franciae par
le prince de Gales.

'Reve'nt piere en Dieu, et tresch' ami,—Nous vous mer-
cions entierement de ce que nous avons entendu q' vous estes
i bien et si naturellement porte dev's nous, en p'ant Dieux p'r
ous et p'r n're exploit; et fumes tout certiens q' p'r cause de
ous devoutes p'eres et dautres, Dieu nous a en toutes nos
esoignes be' vucliz aide; de quoi nous fames a touz jo's

It is not possible to relate all the feasts and entertainments which the citizens and clergy of Bourdeaux made for the prince, and with what joy they received him and the king of France.

The prince conducted the king to the monastery of St. Andrew, where they were both lodged; the king on one side, and the prince on the other. The prince purchased from the barons, knights and squires of Gascony, the ransoms of the greater part

tenuz de lui grazier, en p'ant que v're part ancy vieullietz faire en continuant dev's nous come devant ces heures avetz fait de quoi nous nous tenons g'n'ment tenuz a vous. Et, rev'ent piere, endroit de n're estat, dont nous penceons bien q' vous desirez la v're merci doier bones nouvelles, vuellietz entendre q' a la faifance de cestes estions sains et heures et tout en bon point, loiez en soit Dieux q' nous donit y ces mesmes de vous toutes soitz oir et faver, et de ce nous vuellietz certifier p'r vos l'res et p' les entrevenantz a plus souvent q' vous p'res bonement en droit de nouvelles ceandroitz. Vueilletz savoir q' la veille de la translation Saint Thomas de Canterbire, nouz commenceasmes a chivauch' ove n're povar v's les parties de France et souvraignement p' cause q' nous entendismes la venue de n're treshonn'e seign'r et piere le roy la, endroitz, et si neismes dev's les parties de Berges en Berye, Orlions et Tours, et avions nouvelles q' le roy de France ove g'nt povar bien pres de celles marches venoit p' combattre ove no's, et approcheasmes tantq' la bataille se prist entre nous en tiele maniere q' les ennemis estoient disconfitez, grace en soit Dieux, et le dit roi et son fils et plusieurs autres g'ntz pris et mortz, les noms de queauz nous vous envions p' n're trefch' bachiler mons' Roger de Cottesford portoir de cestes. Rev'ent piere en Dieux, et n're trefch' ami, le Saint Esprit vous ait toute jours en sa garde.

‘Donné souz n're seal a Birdeaux, le xxe jour d' O&ob'r.’

Archæologia, vol. i. p. 213.

of

of the French earls who were there, and paid ready money for them.

There were many meetings and disputes among the knights and squires of Gascony, and others, relative to the capture of the king of France. On this account, Denys de Morbeque truly and by right of arms claimed him. He challenged another squire of Gascony, named Bernard de Trouttes, who had declared that he had an equal right to him. There was much disputing between them before the prince and the barons present : and as they had engaged to fight each other, the prince put them under an arrest, until they should be arrived in England, and forbade any thing more being said on the subject till they were in the presence of the king his father.

However, as the king of France gave every assistance to sir Denys in support of his claim, and leaned more to him than to any of the other claimants, the prince ordered two thousand nobles to be given privately to sir Denys, in order to enable him the better to support his rank.

Soon after the prince's arrival at Bourdeaux, the cardinal de Perigord came thither as, it was said, ambassador from the pope. It was upwards of a fortnight before the prince would speak to him, on account of the castellan of Amposta and his people having been engaged against him at the battle of Poitiers. The prince believed that the cardinal had sent them thither ; but the cardinal, through the means of his relations, the lord of Chaumont, the

lord of Montferrant and the captal of Buch, gave such good reasons for his conduct to the prince, that he admitted him to an audience. Having obtained this, he exculpated himself so clearly that the prince and his council were satisfied ; and he regained the place he before held in the prince's affection. All his people were set at liberty at moderate ransoms: the castellan's amounted to ten thousand franks, which he paid.

The cardinal, soon after, began to touch upon the deliverance of king John : but I shall say little on that head, as nothing was done in the business.

The prince, with his Gascons and English, remained all that winter at Bourdeaux, where was much feasting and merriment; and they foolishly expended the gold and silver they had gained.

In England also, there were great rejoicings, when the news arrived of the affair of Poitiers, and of the defeat of the French. Solemn thanksgivings were offered up in all churches, and bonfires made in every town and village. Those knights and squires who returned to England, after having been in this battle, were honoured in preference to any others.

CHAP. CLXVII.

THE THREE ESTATES OF FRANCE ASSEMBLE AT PARIS,
AFTER THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

DURING the time of this defeat at Poitiers, the duke of Lancaster was in the county of Evreux, on the borders of Coutantin; and with him were sir Philip de Navarre and the lord Godfrey de Harcourt. They had made war on Normandy from that quarter, and had continued to do so all that summer, on account of the king of Navarre, whom the king of France detained in prison.

These three lords had done all in their power to join the prince of Wales; but it was not possible, for all the passages of the river Loire were too well guarded. When they were informed that the prince had made the king of France prisoner, and of the manner in which the battle of Poitiers had been won, they were much pleased, and put an end to their excursions; for the duke of Lancaster and sir Philip de Navarre wished to go to England, which they did. They sent sir Godfrey de Harcourt to guard the frontiers, at St. Sauveur le Vicomte.

If the kingdom of England and its allies were much delighted with the capture of the king of France, that realm was sore troubled and vexed. It had very good cause to be so; for there were great distresses and desolations in every quarter, and men of understanding foresaw that greater mischiefs might arise: since the king of France and all the flower of chivalry of that kingdom were either slain

or made prisoners, and the three sons of the king, Charles, Louis and John, who had escaped, were very young in years and understanding, so that no great expectation could be formed from them ; and neither were they willing to undertake the government of the kingdom.

Add to this, that the knights and squires who had returned from the battle were so much despised and blamed by the common people, that they very unwillingly entered the great towns.

There were many conferences held, and much discontent appeared ; when the most prudent and wise perceived that this state could not continue, nor longer go on without some remedy ; for the English and Navarrais were in force in Coutantin, under sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who was overrunning and destroying the country. The prelates of the church, bishops and abbots, and all the noblemen and knights, the provost of merchants and citizens of Paris, as well as the council from the other capital towns in the kingdom, assembled together in the city of Paris, in order to consult and advise upon the best manner of governing the kingdom of France, until king John should be set at liberty. But they were first determined to inquire what was become of the great sums of money that had been raised in France by way of dismes, maletostes*,

* *Maletoste*,—an extraordinary tax, or subsidy, levied the year 1296 by Philip le Bel, viz. at first the value of the hundredth, and afterwards of the fiftieth part of all either lay or churchman's goods.—COTGRAVE'S *Dictionary*.

subsidies, by the coinage and other vexations. Notwithstanding the country had been much harassed and distressed by levying them, the army had been badly paid, and the kingdom ill guarded and defended : but there was no one that could give any account of them.

The clergy, therefore, resolved to select twelve of the wisest from among themselves, to consider and determine what would be most advisable to be done.

The barons and knights chose twelve also, to attend to this business.

The citizens likewise did the same, according to their unanimous agreement. These thirty-six personages were to remain at Paris, in order to confer together upon the better government of the kingdom ; and all affairs were to be laid before these three estates : all prelates, noblemen, and all cities, towns and commonalties were to obey them and execute their orders.

In the beginning, however, there were many in this selection that were not agreeable to the duke of Normandy, or to his council.

The first act of the three estates was to forbid the coining any money in the manner in which it was then done, and to seize the dies. They next required of the duke of Normandy, that he would order the chancellor of the king his father to be arrested, the Lord Robert Lorris, the lord Simon de Buci*, as well as many other masters of ac-

* He was first president of the parliament.—HAINAULT.

counts and counsellors in former times to the king, that they might give a just account of what sums through their advice had been levied and raised in the kingdom.

When all these personages heard of this, they quitted the realm as speedily as possible, and took refuge in other kingdoms until the face of affairs should be changed.

CHAP. CLXVIII.

THE THREE ESTATES SEND MEN AT ARMS AGAINST SIR GODFREY DE HARCOURT.

THE three estates, after this, established and appointed, in their names, receivers to collect whatever taxes might be due to the king, or to the realm. They coined money of fine gold, which was called *Moutons** : and they would with pleasure have seen the king of Navarre delivered from

* The gold coin called *Moutons* had the impression of the *Agnus Dei*, which the vulgar mistook for a sheep: hence it got the ridiculous name of *Moutons*. This coin was originally of the value of twelve sols six deniers fine silver.

Annals of Scotland, vol. iii. note, p. 231.

Le mouton d'or was a coin on which was impressed the figure of a lamb, with this inscription: 'Agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi, miserere nobis;' and on the reverse a cross, with these words, 'Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat.'

There were fifty-two of these pieces in a marc of fine gold.

DU CANGE, *Gloss. ad verb. Muttones*.

his

his prison in the castle of Crevecour in Cambresis, where he was confined; for it appeared to many members of the three estates, that the kingdom would be stronger and more ably defended, provided he would be true and loyal; for there were few noblemen at that time in France that were able to make any good defence, the greater part having been slain or made prisoners at the battle of Poitiers. They therefore requested the duke of Normandy to give him his liberty; for they thought he had been unjustly used, nor did they know for what reason he was a prisoner. The duke replied, that he could not advise his being set at liberty; for the king his father had ordered him to be confined, and he was ignorant of the cause or reason of it.

At this period, news was brought to the duke and to three estates, that sir Godfrey de Harcourt was waging a destructive war against Normandy; that his army, which was not very numerous, overran the country twice or thrice a-week, as far as the suburbs of Caen, of Saint Lo*, Evreux and Coutances, and no one went out to oppose him.

The duke and the three estates ordered an expedition of men at arms, consisting of three hundred lances and five hundred with iron armour: they nominated four captains to command them, the lord de Reyneval, the lord de Chauny, the lord de Riville, and the lord de Frienville. This army set

* A city of Normandy, situated on the Vire, diocese of Coutances.

out from Paris, and marched to Rouen, where there was a large body collected from different parts. There were many knights from Artois and Vermandois, such as the lord of Crequi, the lord Lewis de Havesquerque, the lord Edward de Renti, lord John de Fiennes, lord Enguerrant de Hédin, and many others: there came also from Normandy many expert men at arms. These lords, with their troops, advanced until they came to the city of Coutances, which they garrisoned.

CHAP. CLXIX.

THE BATTLE OF COUTANTIN, BETWEEN SIR GODFREY DE HARCOURT, AND SIR RAOUL DE REYNEVAL.

WHEN sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who was strong, bold, and courageous, heard that the French were come to the city of Coutances, he collected together as many men at arms as possible, archers and other friends, and said he would go to meet them. He left, therefore, St. Sauveur le Vicomte, accompanied by about seven hundred men, including every one.

This same day, the French also sallied out, and had sent forward their scouts to examine the country, who returned and informed their lords that they had seen the Navarrais.

On the other hand, sir Godfrey had sent out his scouts, who had taken a different road, and, having
 4 examined

examined the army of the French, had counted their banners and pennons, and to what numbers they amounted. Sir Godfrey, however, paid but little attention to their report: he said, that since he saw his enemies he would fight with them. He immediately placed his archers in the front of his men, and drew up in battle-array the Englishmen and Navarrais.

When lord Raoul de Reyneval perceived how he had drawn up his men, he ordered part of the French to dismount, and to place large shields before them to guard themselves against the arrows, and for none to advance without his orders.

The archers of sir Godfrey began to advance, as they were commanded, and to shoot their arrows with all their strength. The French, who were sheltered behind their shields, allowed them to shoot on, as this attack did not hurt them in the least. They remained so long in their position without moving, that these archers had expended all their arrows; they then cast away their bows, and began to fall back upon their men at arms, who were drawn up alongside of a hedge, sir Godfrey in the front with his banner displayed. The French then began to make use of their bows, and to pick up arrows every where, for there were plenty of them lying about, which they employed against the English and men of Navarre. The men at arms also made a vigorous charge; and the combat was very sharp and severe, when they were come hand to hand; but the infantry of sir Godfrey

Godfrey would not keep their ranks, and were therefore soon discomfited.

Sir Godfrey, upon this, retreated into a vineyard which was inclosed with strong hedges, and as many of his people as could get in followed him. When the French saw this, they all dismounted, surrounded the place, and considered how they could best enter it. They examined it on every side, and at last found an entrance. As they went round, seeking a passage, sir Godfrey and his men did the same, and halted at the weakest part of the hedge.

As soon as the French had gained this entrance, many gallant deeds of arms were performed; but it cost the French dear before they were complete masters of it. The banner of sir Raoul was the first that entered. He followed it, as did the other knights and squires.

When they were all in the inclosure, the combat was renewed with greater vigour, and many a one was beat down. The army of sir Godfrey would not keep the order which he had appointed, according to the promise made to him; but the greater part fled, and could not withstand the French.

Sir Godfrey, on seeing this, declared, that he would prefer death to being taken, and, arming himself with a battle-axe, halted where he was: he placed one foot before the other to be firmer; for he was lame of one leg, though very strong in his arms.

In

• In this position, he fought a long time most valiantly, so that few dared to encounter his blows. When two Frenchmen mounted their horses, and, placing their lances in their rests, charged him at the same time, and struck him to the ground: some men at arms immediately rushed upon him with their swords, which they ran through his body, and killed him on the spot. The greater part of his army were slain or made prisoners, and those who were able to escape, returned to St. Sauveur le Vicomte. This happened in the winter of 1356, about Martinmas.

CHAP. CLXX.

THE PRINCE OF WALES CONDUCTS THE KING OF FRANCE FROM BOURDEAUX TO ENGLAND.

AFTER the death of the before-mentioned knight, sir Godfrey de Harcourt, as soon as the country had been freed from his incursions by the defeat of his troops, the French returned to Coutances, carrying with them their booty and prisoners. Shortly afterward, they returned to Paris, to the duke of Normandy, who was styled Regent, and to the three estates, who paid much honor to the knights and squires who had been in Coutantin.

From that time, the town of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, and all the landholders of sir Godfrey de Harcourt, attached themselves to the English; for he had sold it, subject to his life, to the king of England,

England, and had disinherited the lord Louis de Harcourt, his nephew, because he would not follow his party.

When the king of England was informed of the death of sir Godfrey, he lamented him much, but embarked men at arms, knights, squires, and cross-bowmen, to the amount of upwards of four hundred men, to take possession of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, which was well worth thirty thousand livres annual rent. He nominated the lord John Lisle governor of the lands and castles.

The three estates, all this time, paid great attention to the better ordering of the realm of France, which was governed by them.

The prince of Wales, and the greater part of those lords who had been with him at the battle of Poitiers, remained all this winter at Bourdeaux, revelling, making preparations of shipping, and settling their own affairs, or engaged in making arrangements for conducting the king of France, his son and the principal lords who were prisoners, to England.

When the season was sufficiently advanced, and every thing was ready for the prince's departure, he sent for the great barons of Gascony, the lord d'Albret first, and the lords de Mucident, de l'Esparre, de Longueren, de Pumiers, de Courton, de Rosem, de Chaumont, de Montferrant, de Landuras, sir Aymery de Tarse, the capital de Buch, the souldich de la Trane, and many others. He received them with every sign of affection and friendship, and promised them great rewards and profits,

profits, which is all that a Gascon loves or desires. He then informed them of his intention of going to England, that he should take some of them with him, and the rest he should leave in different parts of the province, to guard the frontiers against the French, and should put all the cities and castles under their management, as if they were their own property.

When the Gascons learnt that the prince of Wales intended taking away with him the king of France, whom they had assisted to make prisoner, they were unwilling to consent to it, and said to the prince; ‘ Dear sir, we owe you, as it becomes us, all honor and obedience, to the utmost of our power; but it is not our intention you should carry the king of France from us, who have so largely contributed by our services to place him in the situation he is now in. Thank God, he is at present well in health and in a good city; and we are powerful enough to guard him against any force France may send to take him from us.’

The prince replied; ‘ My dear lords, I willingly agree to all you have said, but the king, my father, wishes to have him, and to see him. We are very sensible and thankful for the services which you have done both to him and myself, and you may depend on being handsomely rewarded for them.’ These words, however, did not satisfy the Gascons, nor would they agree to the departure of the king of France, until lord Reginald Cobham and sir John Chandos found a means of appeasing them.

They

They were well acquainted with the avaricious disposition of the Gascons, and therefore said to the prince, ‘ Sir, fir, offer them a handsome sum of florins, and you will see they will soon comply with whatever you wish.’ Upon this, the prince offered them sixty thousand florins; but they would not listen to him: at last it was settled that the prince should give them one hundred thousand florins, to be distributed among the barons of Gascony, and that he might set out with the king when he pleased.

After this, he nominated four of them as governors of the country until his return; the lords d’Albret, de l’Esparre, de Pumiers, and de Rosem. This being done, the prince embarked on board a handsome ship, and took with him a great many Gascons: among them were the capital de Buch, sir Aymery de Tarse, the lord de Landuras, the lord de Mucident, the souldich de la Trane, and many others.

The king of France was in a ship by himself, in order that he might be more at his ease.

In the fleet, there were five hundred men at arms and two thousand archers, to guard against any accidents at sea, and also because the prince had been informed before he left Bourdeaux, that the three estates, who then governed France, had raised two large armies, which were posted in Normandy and at Crotoy*, to meet the English,

* A village in Picardy, near the mouth of the Somme.

and to carry off the king, but they saw nothing of them.

They were eleven days and nights at sea, and on the twelfth they arrived at Sandwich, where they disembarked and took up their quarters in the town and neighbourhood. They remained there two days to refresh themselves, and, on the third, set out and came to Canterbury.

When the king of England was informed of their arrival, he gave orders for the citizens of London to make such preparations as were suitable to receive so great a prince as the king of France. Upon which they all dressed themselves very richly in companies, and the different manufactories of cloth appeared with various pageants.

The king and prince remained one day at Canterbury, where they made their offerings to the shrine of St. Thomas.

On the morrow, they rode to Rochester, where they reposed themselves. The third day they came to Dartford, and the fourth to London, where they were received with every honor and distinction, as indeed they had been by all the chief towns on their road.

The king of France, as he rode through London, was mounted on a white steed, with very rich furniture, and the prince of Wales on a little black hackney by his side. He rode through London thus accompanied to the palace of the Savoy, which was part of the inheritance of the duke of Lancaster.

There the king of France kept his household for some time: and there he was visited by the king and queen of England, who often entertained him sumptuously, and afterward were very frequent in their visits, consoling him all in their power.

The cardinals de Perigord and de St. Vital soon after came to England, by command of pope Innocent VI. They endeavoured to make peace between the two kingdoms, which they laboured hard to effect, but without success. However, by some fortunate means they procured a truce between the two kings and their allies, to last until St. John the Baptist's day 1359.

The lord Philip de Navarre and his allies, the countess of Montfort and the duchy of Brittany, were excluded from this truce.

Shortly afterward, the king of France and all his household were removed from the palace of the Savoy to Windsor Castle*, where he was permitted to hunt and hawk, and take what other diversions he pleased in that neighbourhood, as well as the lord Philip his son. The rest of the French lords remained at London, but they visited the king as often as they pleased, and were prisoners on their parole of honor.

* He was afterward confined in Hertford Castle, under the guard of Roger de Beauchamp. David king of Scotland was likewise a prisoner there. John was removed to different other castles, from a suspicion of his being delivered by treason or force.—ASHMOLE.

CHAP. CLXXI.

DAVID BRUCE, KING OF SCOTLAND, OBTAINS HIS
LIBERTY.

YOU have before heard how king David of Scotland had been a prisoner in England, where he had remained upwards of nine years. Shortly after this truce was agreed to between France and England, the two cardinals, in conjunction with the bishop of St. Andrew's in Scotland, undertook the enlargement of the king of Scotland.

The treaty was formed upon this ground, that the king of Scotland should never bear arms against the king of England, in his realm: neither advise nor consent that any of his subjects should molest or wage war upon the English: that the king of Scotland, upon his return to his kingdom, should make every exertion in his power to obtain his subjects' consent that the crown of Scotland be held in fief and homage from the king of England. If the country would not submit to this, then the king of Scotland should swear solemnly to maintain and keep a firm and lasting peace with the king of England.

He was also to bind himself and his kingdom, as its own real lord and heir, in the payment of five hundred thousand nobles within ten years. And upon the demand of the king of England he was to send good hostages and securities for the performance of this treaty, such as the earl of Douglas,

the earl of Moray, the earl of Mar, the earl of Sutherland, the earl of Fife, sir Thomas Bisset and the bishop of Caithness, who were to remain in England as prisoners or hostages for their lord and king until there should have been paid the whole of the above sum.

Public instruments were drawn up according to these resolutions and obligations, with letters patent, sealed by each of the kings.

The king of Scotland then left England, and returned to his own country, with his queen Johanna*, sister to the king of England. He was received by his subjects with every honorable mark of distinction, and, after having visited them, gave orders for his castle of Scone, near Perth, to be re-

* There is a strange diversity among historians concerning the time of the death of this ill-fated lady. Fordun, l. xiv. c. 16. says, that she went to England in 1357, and died after she had remained there some time. In *Scala Chron. ap. Leland*, it is said, the queen of Scotland, sister to king Edward, came out of Scotland to Wyndesore, to speak with him, and after was with her mother, queen Isabella, at Hertford, and there died. This imports, that she died either before her mother, or soon after her. It is certain her mother died in the autumn 1358. Fordun and the author of *Scala Chronica* are in a mistake. Queen Johanna must have lived beyond the year 1357 or the year 1358. Her husband speaks of her as alive on the 21st February 1358-9, *Fœdera*, vol. vi. p. 180. Nay more, on the 2d May 1362, a passport is granted by Edward III. to John Heryng, the servant of Johanna queen of Scotland, our sister, *Fœdera*;—and, therefore, I incline to follow Walsingham, p. 179, who places her death in 1362.—ANNALS.

paired,

paired, as it was in ruins. This is a good and commercial town, situated upon a river called the Tay*.

CHAP. CLXXII.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER LAYS SIEGE TO RENNES.

ABOUT the middle of May, in the year 1357, the duke of Lancaster raised a large body of men at arms, of English and Bretons, for the assistance of the countess of Montfort and her young

* 'The treaty, which had been in agitation so many years, was at length concluded, at Berwick, 3d October 1357. By it the king of Scots was released, after a captivity of *eleven* years. The Scottish nation agreed to pay one hundred thousand marks sterling as the ransom of their sovereign, by yearly payments of ten thousand marks on the 24th June.

'Twenty young men of quality, and among them the eldest son of the Stewart, were to be given as hostages: and for further security, three of the following great lords were to place themselves in the hands of the English: the Stewart, the earls of March, Mar, Ross, Angus, and Sutherland, lord Douglas and Thomas Moray of Bothwell. It was provided, that a truce should continue between the two nations until complete payment of the ransom.

'The king of Scots, the nobility and the boroughs, ratified this treaty the 5th of October, and the bishops ratified it on the following day.

'David, immediately after his release, summoned a parliament, laid the treaty before the three estates, obtained their approbation, and then ratified the treaty anew, at Scone, 6th November.—*Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 244.

son, who at that time bore arms, and was a party in their excursions. There might be a thousand men at arms, well equipped and appointed, and five hundred others among the archers.

This army left Hennebon, scouring and burning all the country until they came to the good town of Rennes, which the duke besieged on every side, and lay a long time before it, making many assaults, by which he gained not much, for there were in the town the viscount de Rohan, the lord de Laval, sir Charles de Dinan, and many others.

There was also in the town a young knight-bachelor called sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who, during the siege of Rennes, fought with an Englishman named sir Nicholas Dagworth. The terms of the combat were to be three courses with spears, three strokes with battle-axes, and three stabs with daggers. The two knights behaved most valiantly, and parted without hurting each other. They were seen with pleasure by both armies*.

* The historian of Brittany says, it was William de Blancbourg, brother to the governor of Fougerei, who had been slain by Bertrand. In confirmation of this, Dugdale makes no mention of this duel, which he would probably have done, had sir Nicholas Dagworth been the person.

Bertrand, in the first course, pierced the coat of mail of Blancbourg, and his own helmet suffered the same. The two ensuing courses were harmless. Bertrand asked if he would run three more: which was accepted. In the first course, Bertrand struck him so violently on the body, his lance entered very deep, and unhorsed him. He would not kill him, from respect to the duke of Lancaster, but seized his horse, which he carried away as a trophy of his victory.

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The lord Charles of Blois was at that time returned to the country; but, as he could not bear arms himself, he was perpetually teasing the regent of France to send him a sufficiency of men at arms to raise the siege of Rennes. But the regent was too much occupied with the affairs of France, which were in great confusion, to attend to his request, and therefore the siege of Rennes was still continued.

CHAP. CLXXIII.

A KNIGHT OF THE COUNTRY OF EVREUX, CALLED SIR WILLIAM DE GRAVILLE, RE-CONQUERS THE CITY AND CASTLE OF EVREUX FROM THE KING OF FRANCE, WHO HAD TAKEN IT FROM THE KING OF NAVARRE.

A KNIGHT, named the lord de Graville, who was attached to the king of Navarre by his faith and oath, was much hurt at his imprisonment, as were likewise many of the inhabitants of the Evreux; but they could not help themselves so long as the castle was in the enemy's possession. This sir William lived about two short leagues from Evreux, and whenever he came to that city, was received by a citizen, who in former times had been a great friend to the king of Navarre.

When sir William came to the house of this citizen, he eat with him, and, during their repasts, discoursed on various subjects, but generally of the

king of Navarre, and of his imprisonment which vexed them forely.

It happened one day that sir William said to him; 'If you will give me your assistance, I will surely re-conquer this city and castle for the king of Navarre.' 'How will you do that?' replied the citizen, 'for the governor is strongly attached to the French interest; and, without having gained the castle, we dare not shew ourselves, for he is master of the town and suburbs.' Sir William answered; 'I will tell you: you must get three or four citizens of your friends, that are of the same way of thinking as yourself, and fill your houses well with armed men that can be depended on; and I promise you on my head, that we will enter the castle by a trick, without incurring any danger.'

The citizen was so active, that he soon collected a hundred of his friends, who were as well inclined as himself.

Sir William went in and out of the town without any suspicion; for he had not borne arms in the last expedition with the lord Philip de Navarre, because the greater part of his property lay near to Evreux, and the king of France, at the time he conquered Evreux, had made all the landholders in the neighbourhood swear allegiance to him, otherwise he would have taken possession of their lands; he had thus only gained outwardly their affections, but their hearts remained attached to the interest of Navarre.

If king John, however, had been in France, this sir William would not have dared to attempt what he

he performed. But he perceived the embarrassed state of public affairs, and that the three estates were desirous of giving the king of Navarre his liberty.

Sir William having made his preparations, the citizens were apprised what they were to do : he armed himself at all points, put on a short gown, and over all his cloak. He had under his arm a small battle-axe, and, thus equipped, he came, attended by his servant, whom he had let into the secret, to walk upon the square before the castle, as had been of late his custom. He walked there so long a time, that the governor, who usually came to the gate twice or thrice about that time, opened the gate of the castle to look about him, but it was only the wicket-gate, and he placed himself right before it. When sir William perceived him, he approached nearer by little and little, saluting him most respectfully. The governor, though he returned the salute, kept his position. Sir William, however, at last came up to him, and began to converse with him on different subjects : he inquired if he had heard what was doing in France. The governor, from being constantly shut up in the castle, had enjoyed little communication from without, and, being eager to learn the news, replied that he had heard nothing, and would thank him to let him know what was passing. ‘ Very willingly,’ answered sir William : ‘ It is reported in France, that the kings of Denmark and Iceland have made an alliance, and have sworn never to return to their own countries before they shall have destroyed

destroyed England and brought back the king of France to Paris. They have an armament at sea, with upwards of one hundred thousand men : and the English are so much alarmed and frightened that they know not which way to turn themselves to defend their coasts ; for it was a very old saying with them that they were to be destroyed by the Danes.' The governor inquired from whom he had learnt this news : sir William said, that a knight in Flanders had written it to him as a fact, and added, ' He has sent me the handsomest set of chess men I ever saw.' He had invented this tale, because he had learnt the governor was very fond of playing at chess. The governor said, he should be very glad to see them. ' Well,' replied sir William, ' I will send for them, but on condition you play with me for some wine ;' and, turning to his servant, said, ' Go, look for the chess-board and men, and bring them to us at the gate.'

The servant set off, and the governor and sir William entered the first gate of the castle. The governor fastened the wicket on the inside with a bolt, but did not lock it. Sir William said ; ' Governor, open this second gate : you may do it without any risk.' The governor opened the wicket only, and let sir William pass through to see the inside of the castle, while he himself followed.

The servant, in the mean time, went to those citizens who had the armed men in their houses, led them up to the castle, and then blew his horn, as had been agreed on between him and his master. When sir William heard the horn, he said to the

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governor ;

governor ; ‘ Let us go out, and pass this second gate, for my servant will soon return.’ Sir William re-passed this wicket, and stood close by it on the other side. When the governor had put one foot through, and had lowered his head, sir William drew out the axe he had under his cloak, and struck him such a blow that he split his head asunder, and felled him dead on the sill of the door. He then went to the first gate, which he opened.

The watch of the castle had heard with astonishment the servant’s horn, for it had been proclaimed in the city, that no one should dare to sound a horn, under pain of losing his hand. He perceived also armed men running towards the castle : upon which he sounded his horn, and cried out, ‘ Treason ! treason !’

Those that were in the castle hastened to the gate, which to their surprise, they found open, the governor lying dead across it, and sir William, his axe in his hand, guarding the passage. The men at arms, who were to assist him, soon arrived, and, having passed the first and second gates, fiercely drove back the garrison.

Several were killed, and as many taken as they chose. They entered the castle : and in this manner was the strong castle of Evreux retaken : the citizens and inhabitants of the town immediately surrendered, when they drove out all the French.

They sent to inform lord Philip de Navarre of this event, who was but lately returned from England. He came immediately to Evreux, and made it his principal garrison to carry the war into the
rich

rich country of Normandy. There were with him sir Robert Knolles, sir James Pipe, the lord Fricquet de Fricquant, le Bascle de Marneil, sir John Jewel, who afterwards, as you will hear in this history, did much mischief to France.

CHAP. CLXXIV.

THE ARCHPRIEST ASSEMBLES A COMPANY OF MEN
AT ARMS. HE IS MUCH HONOURED AT AVIGNON.

ABOUT this period, a knight, named sir Arnold de Cervole, but more commonly called the Archpriest, collected a large body of men at arms, who came from all parts, seeing that their pay would not be continued in France, and that, since the capture of the king, there was not any probability of their gaining more in that country.

They marched first into Provence, where they took many strong towns and castles, and ruined the country by their robberies as far as Avignon. Pope Innocent VI., who resided in Avignon, was much alarmed, as not knowing what might be the intentions of the archpriest, the leader of these forces; and, for fear of personal insult, he and the cardinals kept their households armed day and night.

When the archpriest and his troops had pillaged all the country, the pope and clergy entered into treaty with him. Having received proper security, he and the greater part of his people entered Avignon,

non, where he was received with as much respect as if he had been son to the king of France. He dined many times with the pope and cardinals, who gave him absolution from all his sins; and, at his departure, they presented him with forty thousand crowns, to distribute among his companions.

These men, therefore, marched away to different places, following, however, the directions of the archpriest.

CHAP. CLXXV.

A WELSHMAN, OF THE NAME OF RUFFIN*, COMMANDS
A TROOP OF THE FREE COMPANIES.

AT this time also, there was another company of men at arms, or robbers, collected from all parts, who stationed themselves between the rivers Loire and Seine, so that no one dared to travel between Paris and Orleans, nor between Paris and Montargis, or even to remain in the country: the inhabitants of the plains, and near Orleans, had all fled to Paris.

This company had chosen for their leader a Welshman, of the name of Griffith, whom they had knighted, and who acquired such immense riches, as could not be counted.

These companies advanced one day near to Paris, another day towards Orleans, another time to Chartres; and there was no town nor fortrefs

* Barnes calls him *Griffith*, but mentions no authority.

but what was taken and pillaged, excepting such as were strongly garrisoned.

St. Arnout*, Galardon†, Broumaulx, Aloes, Estampes‡, Chartres§, Montlehery||, Plouviers in the Gatinois, Milly¶, Larchant**, Châtillon††, Montargis‡‡, Yffieres, were plundered, and so many other towns that it would be difficult to recount them all.

They rode over the country in parties of twenty, thirty or forty, meeting with none to check their pillage.

While, on the sea-coast of Normandy, there were a still greater number of English and Navarrais, plunderers and robbers. Sir Robert Knolles was their leader, who conquered every town and castle he came to, as there was no one to oppose him.

Sir Robert had followed this trade for some time, and by it had gained upwards of 100,000 crowns. He kept a great many soldiers in his pay; and, being very liberal, he was cheerfully followed and obeyed.

* A town in Beauce, election of Dourdon.

† A town in Beauce, election of Chartres.

‡ A city in Beauce, thirteen leagues from Paris.

§ A city of Orleanois, capital of Beauce, twenty-two leagues from Paris.

|| A town in the isle of France, seven leagues from Paris.

¶ A market-town in Gatinois.

** St. Mathurin de Larchant, a town in Gatinois.

†† A town in Beauce, election of Châteaudun.

‡‡ Capital of Gatinois, twenty-seven leagues and a half from Paris.

CHAP. CLXXVI.

THE PROVOST OF THE MERCHANTS OF PARIS KILLS
THREE KNIGHTS IN THE APARTMENT OF THE
REGENT.

DURING the time that the three estates governed the kingdom, all sorts of people united themselves together, under the name of Free Companies: they made war upon every man that was worth robbing.

I must here inform you, that the nobles and prelates of the realm and church began to be weary of the government and regulations of the three estates: they therefore permitted the provost of the merchants at Paris to summon some of the citizens, because they were going greater lengths than they approved of.

It happened one day, when the regent of France was in his palace at Paris, with many knights, nobles and prelates, that the provost of the merchants collected also a great number of the common people of Paris who were devoted to him, all wearing caps* similar to his own, that they might know each other; and, attended by this crowd, the provost came to the palace.

He entered the apartment of the duke, and demanded of him, in an insolent manner; to take the management of the kingdom of France, and to govern it wisely (since it would become his by in-

* Mi partie bleu.

heritance),

heritance), that all those free companies, who at present were overrunning the country, might be prevented from doing further mischief.

The duke replied, that he would very willingly comply with his request, if he had the means to carry it into execution; but that it more properly belonged to those who had raised and received the imposts, due to the realm, to perform it. I cannot pretend to say how it happened, but words increased so much and with such warmth that at last three of the principal counsellors of the duke were slain, and so near to him, that their blood flew over his robe: he himself was in very great danger, but they had put one of their caps on his head, and he consented to pardon the death of his three knights. Two of them were knights of arms, and the other of laws. Their names were, the lord Robert de Clermont, a gallant and magnificent knight, and the lord de Conflans: the knight of laws was the lord Simon de Buci*.

* Etienne Marcel was provost of the merchants. The president, Henault, only mentions Robert de Clermont, marechal de Normandie, and Jean de Conflans, marechal de Champagne, as having been slain in the apartment of the regent.—Mezeray says the same. Simon de Buci he states as premier president, and enobled 1369. This insolence of Marcel he puts under the year 1358, and the king of Navarre's escape from prison 1357.

CHAP. CLXXVII.

BY WHAT MEANS THE KING OF NAVARRE ESCAPES.
OUT OF PRISON.

SHORTLY after this happened, the lord John de Piquigny and some other knights, through the advice of the provost of merchants and the principal persons of some of the other considerable towns, went to the strong castle of Alleres* in Pailleul, situated in Picardy, where the king of Navarre was imprisoned, under the guard of sir Tristan du Bois. These gentlemen brought such certain and assured tokens to the governor that he allowed them to watch the opportunity when sir Tristan should be absent, so that by their means the king of Navarre was delivered out of his prison, and carried by them, with great joy, to Amiens, where he was gladly and honourably received.

He dismounted at the house of a canon, who was much attached to him, whose name was the lord Guy Kyrec. The king was conducted thither by lord John de Piquigny, and he remained with the canon fifteen days, until he had completed his equipage, and was assured of the duke of Normandy's dispositions; for the provost of merchants, who much loved him, obtained by intreaties his

* Q. if not Allery, which is a town in Picardy, near to Amiens. It was said before, that the castle of Crevecœur was his prison. —Barnes says it was *Arleux*, a town in the diocese of Cambray and Douay.

pardon from the duke, as well as from his fellow-citizens at Paris.

Upon this, the king of Navarre was escorted to Paris by the lord John de Piquigny and others citizens of Amiens, where he was gladly seen by all sorts of people: even the duke of Normandy entertained him; for it was necessary he should do so, as the provost and his faction had exhorted him to it; and the duke dissembled his own inclinations, to comply with those of the provost and the Parisians.

CHAP. CLXXVIII.

THE KING OF NAVARRE MAKES A SOLEMN HARANGUE TO THE PARISIANS.

WHEN the king of Navarre had been some time in Paris, he collected an assembly of all sorts of people; prelates, knights, and the students at the university. He made to them a very long and studied harangue in Latin. The duke of Normandy was likewise present. He complained of the grievances and ills he had unjustly suffered, and said, that no one could possibly entertain a doubt but that his sole wish must be to live and die defending the realm and crown of France.

It was his duty so to do; for he was descended from it, in a direct line, both by father and mother; and by his words he gave them to understand, that if he chose to challenge the realm and crown of France for himself, he could shew that
his

his right to them was incontestably stronger than that of the king of England.

It must be observed, that he was heard with great attention, and much commended. Thus, by little and little, he won the hearts of the Parisians, who loved and respected him more than they did the regent duke of Normandy. Many other cities and towns in France followed this example: but, notwithstanding all the love and affection which the provost of merchants and the Parisians shewed to the king of Navarre, the lord Philip de Navarre would not be seduced by it, or consent to come to Paris. He said, that in commonalties there was neither dependance nor union, except in the destruction of every thing good.

CHAP. CLXXIX.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE INFAMOUS JAC- QUERIE OF BEAUVOISIS.

SOON after the deliverance of the king of Navarre out of prison, a marvellous and great tribulation befel the kingdom of France, in Beauvoisis, Brie, upon the river Marne, in the Laonois and in the neighbourhood of Soissons. Some of the inhabitants of the country towns assembled together in Beauvoisis, without any leader: they were not at first more than one hundred men. They said, that the nobles of the kingdom of France, knights and squires, were a disgrace to it,

C c 2

and

and that it would be a very meritorious act to destroy them all: to which proposition every one assented, as a truth, and added, shame befall him that should be the means of preventing the gentlemen from being wholly destroyed.

They then, without further council, collected themselves in a body, and with no other arms than the staves shod with iron, which some had, and others with knives, marched to the house of a knight who lived near, and breaking it open, murdered the knight, his lady and all the children, both great and small; they then burnt the house.

After this, their second expedition was to the strong castle of another knight, which they took, and, having tied him to a stake, many of them violated his wife and daughter before his eyes: they then murdered the lady, her daughter and the other children, and last of all the knight himself, with much cruelty. They destroyed and burnt his castle.

They did the like to many castles and handsome houses; and, their numbers increased so much, that they were in a short time upwards of six thousand: wherever they went, they received additions, for all of their rank in life followed them, whilst every one else fled, carrying off with them their ladies, damsels, and children ten or twenty leagues distant, where they thought they could place them in security, leaving their houses, with all their riches in them.

These wicked people, without leader and without arms, plundered and burnt all the houses they
came

came to, murdered every gentleman, and violated every lady and damsel they could find. He who committed the most atrocious actions, and such as no human creature would have imagined, was the most applauded, and considered as the greatest man among them. I dare not write the horrible and inconceivable atrocities they committed on the persons of the ladies.

Among other infamous acts, they murdered a knight; and, having fastened him to a spit, roasted him before the eyes of his wife and his children, and, after ten or twelve had violated her, they forced her to eat some of her husband's flesh, and then knocked her brains out.

They had chosen a king among them, who came from Clermont in Beauvoisis: he was elected as the worst of the bad, and they denominated him James Goodman*.

These wretches burnt and destroyed in the country of Beauvoisis, and at Corbie, Amiens, and Montdidier, upwards of sixty good houses and strong castles. By the acts of such traitors in the country of Brie and thereabout, it behoved every lady, knight and squire, having the means of escape, to fly to Meaux, if they wished to preserve themselves from being insulted, and afterwards murdered. The duchess of Normandy, the duchess of Orleans, and many other ladies had adopted this course to save themselves from violation.

* Jacques Bon Homme.

These cursed people thus supported themselves in the countries between Paris, Noyon, and Soissons, and in all the territory of Coucy in the county of Valois. In the bishoprics of Noyons, Laon, and Soissons, there were upwards of one hundred castles and good houses of knights and squires destroyed.

CHAP. CLXXXI.

THE KING OF NAVARRE DEFEATS MANY OF THESE VILLAINS IN BEAUVOISIS. THE PROVOST OF MERCHANTS BUILDS A WALL ROUND PARIS.

WHEN the gentlemen of Beauvoisis, Corbie, Vermandois, and of the lands where these wretches were affociated, saw to what lengths their madness had extended, they sent for succour to their friends in Flanders, Hainault, and Bohemia: from which places numbers soon came, and united themselves with the gentlemen of the country.

They began therefore to kill and destroy these wretches wherever they met them, and hung them up by troops on the nearest trees. The king of Navarre even destroyed in one day, near Clermont in Beauvoisis, upwards of three thousand: but they were by this time so much increased in number, that had they been altogether, they would have amounted to more than one hundred thousand. When they were asked for what reason they acted so wickedly; they replied, they knew not, but they did

did so because they saw others do it; and they thought that by this means they should destroy all the nobles and gentlemen in the world.

At this period, the duke of Normandy, suspecting the king of Navarre, the provost of merchants and those of his faction, for they were always unanimous in their sentiments, set out from Paris, and went to the bridge at Charenton upon Marne, where he issued a special summons for the attendance of the crown vassals, and sent a defiance to the provost of merchants, and to all those who should support him.

The provost, being fearful he would return in the night-time to Paris (which was then unclosed), collected as many workmen as possible from all parts, and employed them to make ditches quite round Paris. He also surrounded it by a wall with strong gates. For the space of one year, there were three hundred workmen daily employed; the expence of which was equal to maintaining an army. I must say, that to surround, with a sufficient defence, such a city as Paris, was an act of greater utility than any provost of merchants had ever done before; for otherwise it would have been plundered and destroyed several times by the different factions.

CHAP. CLXXXII.

THE BATTLE OF MEAUX IN BRIE, WHERE THE VILLAINS ARE DISCOMFITED BY THE EARL OF FOIX AND THE CAPTAL OF BUCH.

AT the time these wicked men were overrunning the country, the earl of Foix and his cousin the captal of Buch were returning from a croifade in Prussia*. They were informed on their entering France, of the diftreffs the nobles were in; and they learnt at the city of Chalons, that the duchefs of Normandy, the duchefs of Orleans, and three hundred other ladies, under the protection of the duke of Orleans, were fled to Meaux on account of these disturbances.

The two knights refolved to go to the affiftance of these ladies, and to reinforce them with all their might, notwithstanding the captal was attached to the Englifh; but at that time there was a truce between the two kings. They might have in their company about fixty lances.

They were moft cheerfully received, on their arrival at Meaux, by the ladies and damfels; for these Jacks and peafants of Brie had heard what number of ladies, married and unmarried, and young children of quality, were in Meaux: they

* Barnes fays that the lord Fauconberg was with them, and quotes Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 4.; but I do not fee that he mentions any thing relative to this matter, except that *he made a voyage to the Holy Land.*

had

had united themselves with those of Valois, and were on their road thither.

On the other hand, those of Paris had also been informed of the treasures Meaux contained, and had set out from that place in crowds: having met the others, they amounted together to nine thousand men: their forces were augmenting every step they advanced.

They came to the gates of the town, which the inhabitants opened to them, and allowed them to enter: they did so in such numbers that all the streets were quite filled, as far as the market-place, which is tolerably strong, but it required to be guarded, though the river Marne nearly surrounds it. The noble dames who were lodged there, seeing such multitudes rushing towards them, were exceedingly frightened. On this, the two lords and their company advanced to the gate of the market-place, which they had opened, and marching under the banners of the earl of Foix and duke of Orleans, and the pennon of the capital of Buch, posted themselves in front of this peasantry, who were badly armed.

When these banditti perceived such a troop of gentlemen, so well equipped, fully forth to guard the market-place, the foremost of them began to fall back. The gentlemen then followed them, using their lances and swords. When they felt the weight of their blows, they, through fear, turned about so fast, they fell one over the other. All manner of armed persons then rushed out of the barriers, drove them before them, striking them down

down like beasts, and clearing the town of them; for they kept neither regularity nor order, slaying so many that they were tired. They flung them in great heaps into the river. In short, they killed upwards of seven thousand. Not one would have escaped, if they had chosen to pursue them further.

On the return of the men at arms, they set fire to the town of Meaux, burnt it; and all the peasants they could find were shut up in it, because they had been of the party of the Jacks. Since this discomfiture which happened to them at Meaux, they never collected again in any great bodies; for the young Enguerrand de Coucy* had plenty of gentlemen under his orders, who destroyed them, wherever they could be met with, without mercy†.

* *Enguerrand de Coucy*—was one of the hostages given by France to England, at the treaty for the liberty of king John.

Edward, to attach him to his interest, married him to Isabella his second daughter, and gave him very large possessions in England. He erected the barony of Bedford into an earldom in his favour.

For further particulars relating to Enguerrand de Coucy, see M. de Zurlauben's memoir, in the xxvth vol. of the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, p. 168.

† Barnes says, that 'their captain, James the Goodman, being here taken alive, was sent to the dauphin, who, understanding that he had assumed the name of a king, caused him to be crowned with a trevet, or the three legged frame of an iron skellet, red hot, and so to be hanged, in requital for all his barbarous cruelties.'

CHAP. CLXXXIII.

PARIS BESIEGED BY THE DUKE OF NORMANDY,
REGENT OF FRANCE.

NOT long after this event, the duke of Normandy assembled many noblemen and gentlemen, as well those of his own kingdom as from the empire by means of subsidies. They might amount, in the whole, to more than three thousand lances. With this force he marched to lay siege to Paris, towards the suburbs of St. Antoine, along the river Seine. He took up his quarters at St. Maur*, and encamped his army in that neighbourhood; whence he made excursions with it every day towards Paris. Sometime the duke resided at Charenton, at others at St. Maur.

Nothing could enter Paris, by land or water, on that side; for the duke had possession of the two rivers, Marne and Seine: his people had burnt all the villages round Paris, which were not inclosed, in order to chastise more severely the Parisians. Paris itself would have been destroyed if it had not been fortified, as before related; and no one dared to enter or go out of it, for fear of the duke's army, who scoured both sides of the Seine as they pleased, for none ventured to oppose them.

The provost of merchants still continued his attachment to the king of Navarre as strong as ever; as did the council and commonalty of Paris; and,

* Probably St. Maur des Fossés, in the isle of France.

as before said, he employed people night and day the more strongly to fortify the city. He had also a large body of men at arms, Navarre soldiers and English archers, and other companions with him. There were among the inhabitants some very determined and able men, such as John Maillart, his brother Symon, and many of their relations, by whom he was very much disliked on account of his hatred to the duke of Normandy; but the provost had attached to himself such a strong party, that no one dared to contradict him, unless he wished to be murdered without mercy.

The king of Navarre, who was acquainted with all this variance between the duke of Normandy and the Parisians, justly imagined, that things could not long continue in their present state; nor had he any very great confidence in the commonalty of Paris: he therefore quitted Paris as handsomely as he could, and went to St. Denis, where there was a large body of men at arms in the pay of the Parisians.

In this position, the king remained for six weeks, and the duke at Charenton. The two armies pillaged and ruined the country on all sides.

The archbishop of Sens, the bishop of Auxerre, the bishop of Beauvais, the lord of Montmorency, the lord of Fiennes and the lord de St. Venant undertook to mediate between them. They managed so wisely with both parties, that the king of Navarre, of his own free will and accord, went to the duke, his brother-in-law, at Charenton, and made excuses for having given him cause of suspicion.

First,

First, for the death of the two marshals and master Simon de Buci; also for the insult which the provost of the merchants had offered to him in his own palace at Paris, which he swore had been done without his knowledge. He promised the duke to remain with him at all events, during this expedition. Upon this peace was made between them. The king of Navarre added, that he would have the Parisians corrected for the evil deeds they had committed.

The commonalty were to be included in this peace; but the duke was to have the provost of the merchants delivered up to him, and twelve of the citizens, according to his choice, to punish in what manner he should think best.

These things being settled, the king of Navarre returned to St. Denis, and the duke went to Meaux in Brie, where he dismissed his army.

Some of the citizens of Paris, to whom the treaty had given more freedom to speak their minds, intreated the duke to return to Paris, in all security, and that they would pay him every honour in their power.

The duke answered, 'that he should consider the peace as good, having sworn to it; that it should never, with God's permission, be infringed by him; but that he would never again enter Paris, unless he had satisfaction from those who had insulted him.'

The provost of the merchants, and those of his faction, frequently visited the king of Navarre at St. Denis: they remonstrated with him on the indigna-

tion of the duke, which they had incurred on his account (for they had delivered him out of prison and brought him to Paris), and that in the name of God, they would not place any confidence in the duke, nor in his council.

The king replied; ‘Be assured, gentlemen and friends, that you shall not suffer any ills without my partaking of them; and, as you have at present the government of Paris, I would advise you to provide yourselves with gold and silver, so that, if there should be any necessity, you may know where to find it, and send it confidentially here to me at St. Denis, trusting to my faith: I will take good care of it, and will keep secretly a body of men at arms, and other companions, with whom, in case of need, you may make war upon your enemies.’

The provost of the merchants followed this advice; and, thrice every week afterwards, he conducted two horses laden with florins to the king of Navarre at St. Denis, who most cheerfully received them.

CHAP. CLXXXIV.

SOME PARISIANS ARE SLAIN AT ST. CLOUD, BY THE ENGLISH WHO HAD BEEN SOLDIERS IN PARIS.

THERE had remained in Paris a great number of the English and Navarre foldiers, whom the provost and commonalty of Paris had in their pay, to
assist

assist them against the duke of Normandy, and very loyally and well had they served them during the time the war lasted.

When the treaty was concluded between the duke and the Parisians, some of these soldiers left Paris, others remained. Those that quitted it went to the king of Navarre, who retained them all, but there were left behind in Paris about three hundred, who enjoyed themselves, and spent their money cheerfully. There happened, however, a quarrel between them and the inhabitants, when upwards of sixty English were slain. The provost was exceedingly angry at this, and blamed the Parisians highly; but, to appease the commonalty, he seized one hundred and fifty of the English, whom he confined over three gates, and told the Parisians, who were so much incensed that they wanted to murder them, that he would have them punished, according to their deserts, which satisfied them.

When night came, the provost set them at liberty to go where they pleased: they went to St. Denis to the king of Navarre, who accepted their services.

In the morning, when the Parisians found that the English were let out of prison, they were much enraged against the provost; but he, who was a prudent and wise man, knew well how to dissemble what part he had in it, and to turn it off, so that it was soon forgotten.

When these soldiers, English and Navarrais, were all collected together at St. Denis, they were upwards of three hundred. They resolved to be revenged

venge for the murder of their companions and the insults they themselves had sustained. They first sent a challenge to the Parisians, and then made war upon them, cutting off and slaying all those who issued out of the town, so that no one dared to venture beyond the gates.

The provost of the merchants was, upon this, required to arm a part of the commonalty, and take the field, for they were desirous of fighting these English. He complied with their request, and said he would accompany them. He armed, therefore, a body of the Parisians, and marched out, to the number of twelve hundred, who, when they were in the plains, were informed that the English they were in search of were in the neighbourhood of St. Cloud. Upon this intelligence, they divided themselves in two bodies, and took separate roads. These two parties were on their march all that day round Montmartre, but did not meet their enemies.

It chanced that the provost had the smallest division, and, after searching all about, entered Paris by St. Martin's gate, without having done any thing. The other division, who were ignorant of the return of the provost, kept the field until vespers, when they began their retreat, but without any regular order, like those who did not look for or expect any hindrance. They came back in crowds quite fatigued; some carried their helmets in their hands, others slung them round their necks; some dragged their swords after them on the ground, while others hung theirs on their shoulders. They had taken their road so as to enter Paris by the gate
of

of St. Honoré*, when suddenly they came upon the English, to the amount of four hundred, in a hollow road, who, upon seeing them, began to shout, 'Here are the Frenchmen!' and fell upon them, which made them fly in every direction. At the first onset, there were upwards of two hundred overthrown. The French, who had not kept any order in their march, were so much astonished that they never thought of rallying, but made the best of their way to escape, and were killed in their flight like so many sheep. There were upwards of six hundred slain in this pursuit: they were followed even beyond the barriers of Paris.

The commonalty of Paris threw all the blame of this accident on the provost of the merchants, and said that he had betrayed them. On the next morning, the near relations and friends of those that had been slain issued out of Paris with cars and carts, to seek for the bodies of the dead to bury them: but the English had placed an ambuscade near the field of battle, when they killed and wounded more than six score of them.

The Parisians were thrown into great trouble and dismay, for they did not know whom to trust. They were night and day under much alarm, for the king of Navarre was grown cold in his proffered assistance to support them, on account of the peace which he had sworn to the duke of Normandy; and also for the outrage which the Parisians had com-

* At that period, the gate of St. Honoré was near the Quinze Vingts.—*Memoires de l'Academie*, tom. xvii. p. 696.

mitted on the English soldiers: he connived, therefore, at the chastisement they had received.

On the other hand, the duke of Normandy was much enraged, that the provost of the merchants should still keep the government of Paris. The provost and his faction were not quite at their ease; for the Parisians, as they were well informed, despised them exceedingly.

CHAP. CLXXXV.

THE DEATH OF THE PROVOST OF THE MERCHANTS
OF PARIS.

THE provost and those of his party held many secret councils among themselves, to consider in what manner they could best keep their authority. They knew they should not find mercy from the duke of Normandy, whose general answer to the Parisians was, that he would never make peace with them, until twelve persons from Paris should be given up to him, according to his choice, for him to deal with as he pleased.

This declaration had very much alarmed the provost and his friends; they thought it preferable to remain alive in good prosperity than to be destroyed, and that it was much better to slay than to be slain. They entered, therefore, into a secret treaty with the English, to continue on the war against Paris. It was agreed upon between them, that the provost and his friends should be posted

over

over the gates of St. Honoré, and St. Anthony, so that the English and Navarrais might together enter Paris at midnight, properly prepared to ruin and destroy the town, except such parts where signals should be placed at the doors or windows: wherever this signal was not found, they were to put men and women to the sword.

The night on which this enterprize was to take place, God shewed his mercy to some of the citizens who had always been attached to the duke, that is to say, John Maillart, his brother Symon, and many others, who by divine inspiration (as one may well suppose it) gained information that Paris was to be sacked and destroyed.

They therefore armed themselves secretly, made all their party do the same, and whispered their suspicions abroad, in order to acquire more help. They all came properly armed, a little before midnight, to the gate of St. Anthony, where they found the provost of the merchants with the keys of the gate in his hand.

Upon this, John Maillart said to him, calling him by his name; 'Stephen, what do you do here at this time of night?' The provost replied; 'John, why do you ask it? I am here to care of, and to guard the city, of which I have the government.' 'By God,' answered John, 'things shall not go on so: you are not here at this hour for any good, which I will now shew you,' addressing himself to those near him; 'for see how he has got the keys of the gate in his hand, to betray the city.' The provost said, 'John, you lie.' John replied, 'It is you,

you, Stephen, who lie ;' and rushing on him, cried to his people, ' Kill them, kill them : now strike home, for they are all traitors.'

There was a very great bustle ; and the provost would gladly have escaped, but John struck him such a blow with his axe on the head, that he felled him to the ground, although he was his comrade, and never left him until he had killed him. Six others, who were present, were also killed : the remainder were carried to prison. They then put themselves in motion, and awakened every one in the different streets of Paris.

John Maillart and his party went to the gate of St. Honoré, where they found those of the provost's faction, whom they accused of treason, and whose excuses were of no avail. Many of them were taken, and sent to different prisons : those who would not suffer themselves to be made prisoners, were slain without mercy.

This same night, all those who were inculpated in the treason, for which the provost had been slain, were taken in their beds ; for those who had been sent to prison had confessed the fact.

On the morrow morning, John Maillart assembled the greater part of the commonalty of Paris in the market-place ; where, having mounted a scaffold, he explained, in general terms, his reasons for having killed the provost of the merchants. All those who had been of the faction of the provost were then condemned to die by the elders of the commonalty, and were accordingly executed with various tortures.

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These things done, John Maillart, who was much in the Parisians' favor, and some of the elders attached to him, sent Symon Maillart and two masters in Parliament, sir John Alphonso and master John Pastorel, to the duke of Normandy who resided at Charenton.

They related to the duke the event that had happened in Paris, and besought him to return thither to direct and counsel the city henceforwards, as all his adversaries were slain. The duke replied, that he would willingly comply with their request. He accordingly came to Paris, attended by sir Arnold d'Andreghen, the lord of Roye, with many other knights, and took up his lodging in the Louvre*.

CHAP.

* All this chapter I have translated from my copy printed on vellum, which is conformable to Denys Sauvage's edition, and to lord Berner's translation: but, on comparing it with two of my manuscripts, there is a very great difference: they are perfectly similar in the text to the three manuscripts mentioned by M. Dacier in his memoir, 'To whom ought to be attributed the glory of the revolution which saved Paris during the captivity of king John?' *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, &c.* vol. xliii. p. 563.

M. Dacier proves very clearly, that John Maillart, so far from being the hero who saved his country, was a rebel, and connected with the provost: that the regent, *on that account*, confiscated the property which John Maillart had in the county of Dampmartin, and gave to John de Chastillon, earl of Porcien, and his heirs for ever, on account of the services he had rendered, and was still rendering to the king, a rent charge of five hundred livres of this confiscated property in Dampmartin and elsewhere.—Extracted from the *Tresor des Chartres*—Registre 86, piece 142.

M. Dacier continues: 'If this piece should leave any doubts
D d 3
upon

CHAP. CLXXXVI.

THE KING OF NAVARRE DECLARES WAR AGAINST FRANCE, THE FRENCH KING BEING AT THE TIME A PRISONER IN ENGLAND.

WHEN the king of Navarre was informed of the death of his great friend the provost of the merchants, and of those who were attached to him, he

upon the want of exactness in the narration of Froissart, I hope to be able to shew, that the commonly-received narration is not the true text. I believe I have found this text in three manuscripts in the king's library, two of which are perhaps the most ancient and authentic that exist in any library. One, numbered 8518, has a date, which marks its age; upon one of the leaves of vellum, at the beginning, is written :

‘ This is a part of the chronicles done by master John Froissart, a Hainaulter; from the time of king Charles IV. of the wars between France and England : which chronicles master William Boisratier, master of requests of the king's palace, one of his counsellors, and counsellor also to the duke of Berry his lord, gave to the aforesaid duke his lord, in his hôtel de Neelle, the 8th day of November, in the year 1407.’—Signed FLAMEL.

‘ The manuscript cannot be later than this date : and one may see by the signature of W. Boisratier, which is on a leaf of parchment pasted on the inside of the cover, that he had been owner of it some time before he presented it to the duke of Berry ; so that it may, without difficulty, be estimated as having been written the latter end of the 14th century.

‘ The second manuscript is so perfectly conformable to the first in the quality of the vellum, the colour of the ink, and the form of the letters, that it clearly belongs to the same period.’

M. Dacier

he was forely vexed ; for the provost had always been very favourable to his designs. And because he had the reputation of being the chief cause of the

M. Dacier does not believe these manuscripts copied from the same original, nor from each other. He then goes on to the

‘ This manuscript, numbered 6760, which is less ancient. It appears to have been written towards the middle of the 15th century. In comparing it with the two preceding, I have found some differences that prove it is not a copy from them. This forms a third testimony in favour of the new text of Froissart. As this text has never been published, I shall transcribe the whole chapter, except the first twenty lines, in which the historian lays down the plan of the conspiracy of Marcel similar to what is in the printed editions.’

‘ That very night which was to disclose all this mischief (that is to say, the destruction of Paris), God inspired and alarmed some of the citizens of Paris who were and ever had been attached to the duke of Normandy ; of whom sir Pepin des Essarts and sir John de Charny were the leaders ; and these were, as we may suppose, informed by divine inspiration that Paris was to be overrun and destroyed. They soon armed themselves, made all those of their party do the same, and secretly spread abroad their intelligence in different quarters, that they might have more assistance.

‘ This sir Pepin then set out, with many other determined companions, well armed. Sir Pepin displayed the banner of France, crying out *Au Roi*, and *Au Duc*, followed by crowds of people, until they came to the gate of St. Anthony, where they found the provost of the merchants, holding the keys in his hands.

‘ John Maillart was likewise there, who, having had that day a dispute with the provost and with Jofferan de Mascon, had joined the party of the duke of Normandy.

‘ The provost was severely taunted by words and arguments ; and there was such a noise made by the crowd, that scarcely any thing

the provost's treasours, the lord Philip de Navarre, who at that time was at St. Denis with him, advised him, as he could not see any means of getting clear of

thing could be heard: they kept crying out, 'Kill them, kill them! kill the provost of the merchants and his allies, for they are all traitors.' There was a great tumult; and the provost, who was standing on the steps of the fort of St. Anthony, would willingly have escaped, but he was so beset that he could not. Sir John de Charny struck him to the ground by a blow of his battle axe on the head. He was then attacked by master Peter Fouace and others, who never quitted him until he was dead, as well as six of his party; among whom were Philip Guiffart, John de Lille, John Poiret, Simon le Paonnier and Giles Marcel. Many more were taken, and sent to prison. They then made search in all the streets of Paris, put the town in a state of security, and kept a strong guard all that night.

'You must know, that as soon as the provost of the merchants and the others had been slain or made prisoners, which happened on Tuesday, the last day of July 1358, in the afternoon, messengers were sent in haste to carry this news to the duke of Normandy, at that time at Meaux, which gave him, and not without reason, great pleasure.

'He made preparations for his journey to Paris; but, before his arrival, Jofferan de Mascon, who was treasurer to the king of Navarre, and Charles Touffac, sheriff of Paris, who had been made prisoners, were executed in the square of the Greve, by having their heads cut off, because they had been traitors, and were of the provost's party.

'The body of the provost and of those that had been slain with him, were dragged into the court of the church of St. Catherine du Val des Ecoliers, and, naked as they were, extended before the crosses in that court, and left there a considerable time for the view of all those that chose it: they were afterward thrown into the river Seine.

'The

of this suspicion, to declare war against the kingdom of France.

He sent his challenge to the duke of Normandy, to the Parisians, and to the whole realm of France.

The duke of Normandy, who had sent a sufficiency of men at arms to Paris, to defend and reinforce it against the English and Navarrais, who were in the neighbourhood continually harassing it, set out from Meaux, where he then resided, and came with speed to Paris, attended by a noble and numerous escort of men at arms. He was received by the good town of Paris, and by all persons with great joy, when he dismounted at the Louvre. John Maillart was at that time near his person, and much in his grace and favor; and, to say the truth, he was then very deserving of it, as you have heard related above, notwithstanding he had been formerly, as it was said, one of the allies of the provost of the merchants.

Shortly afterward, the duke sent for the duchess of Normandy his wife, and all the ladies who had for some time taken refuge at Meaux in Brie. When they came to Paris, the duchess alighted at the hôtel of the duke, which had been the hôtel de St. Pol, whither he had retired, and where he had remained for a considerable time.

M. Dacier then adds:

'This is the new reading I announced, and which appears to me far preferable to the common one, because it unites the double advantage of coming from the most authentic manuscripts we know, and of agreeing much better than the printed copies, as well with the contemporary historians, as with the other monuments of the times, to which it may serve both as a commentary and supplement.'

I shall refer the reader, for further proofs that John Maillart was not the hero who saved Paris, to the memoir of M. Dacier, in the xliind vol. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, &c.

He quitted St. Denis, and his people overran the whole country, plundering it as far as Melun sur Seine*, where the queen Blanche his sister, the widow of king Philip, resided. That lady received him cheerfully, and gave up to him every thing she possessed.

The king of Navarre made this town and castle his principal garrison. He collected men at arms from all parts, and soldiers from Brabant, Germany, Hainault, Bohemia. People every where came willingly to serve under him; for he paid them largely out of the treasures he had amassed, through the means of the provost of merchants, from the city of Paris, as well as from the neighbouring towns.

The lord Philip de Navarre withdrew his forces to Mantes† and Meulan‡, upon the river Seine, where he posted garrisons. Every day their forces were increased by those who were desirous of getting money.

In this manner did the king of Navarre begin his war upon the kingdom of France; which was especially directed against the city of Paris, for he was master of the three rivers, the Seine, Marne, and Oise.

* Melun,—an ancient town in the isle of France, ten leagues and a half from Paris.

† Mantes,—in the isle of France, capital of the Mantois, fourteen leagues from Paris.

‡ Meulan, or Meullent,—in the isle of France, four leagues from Mantes, ten from Paris.

The Navarrais multiplied so fast, that they took the strong town of Creil*: they were besides the masters of the river Oise, and the strong castle of Heriell†, three leagues distant from Amiens, and afterwards of Mauconseil‡.

The capture of these three fortresses was the cause of innumerable ills to the realm of France. There were at least fifteen hundred combatants who were overrunning the country, without any attempt made to oppose them. They soon spread farther, and took, shortly afterward, the castle of St. Valery§, of which they made a very strong garrison. Sir William de Bonnemare and John de Segures|| were governors of it. They had under them full five hundred fighting men, with whom they scoured the country as far as Dieppe and Abbeville, along the sea-coast, to the gates of Crotoy, Roye, and Montreuil-sur-mer.

These Navarrais, whenever they had determined to take a castle, whatever its strength might be, never failed of succeeding. They frequently made excursions of thirty leagues in a night, and fell

* Creil,—a town in the isle of France, on the Oise, twenty leagues and a half from Amiens, ten leagues and a half from Paris.

† La Herielle,—a village of Picardy, in the election of Montdidier, near Breteuil.

‡ Q. if not Maucourt, which is a village of Picardy, near Noyon.

§ A town in Picardy, at the mouth of the Somme, four leagues and a half from Abbeville.

|| Sir John Segar, an Englishman.—BARNES.

upon a country that never suspected they could come to them. Thus did they ruin and destroy the fortresses and castles in the kingdom of France.

They took pleasure to summon knights, ladies, and damsels, before they were out of bed, for their ransoms. Sometimes they seized all they had, and then turned them out of doors.

The lord Fondrigais of Navarre was chief governor of Creil upon Oise. He gave passports to those who wished to go from Paris to Noyon, or from Noyon to Compiègne, or from Compiègne to Soissons, or Laon, as well as to other parts in the neighbourhood. These passports were worth to him, during the time he remained at Creil, one hundred thousand livres.

Sir John de Piquigny, who, though of Picardy, was strongly attached to the cause of Navarre, resided in the castle of Herielle. His troops grievously oppressed the inhabitants of Montdidier, Arras, Peronne, Amiens, and all that part of Picardy on the river Somme.

In the castle of Mauconfeil were three hundred men, under the command of Rabigeois de Dury*, Charles Frangnelin, and Hannequin François; they plundered the country all round Noyon, and all the large towns and monasteries which were not fortified, if their inhabitants did not ransom them.

* Barnes says, that 'in Mauconfeil were three hundred men at arms, under these captains, Rabigois of Derry, an Irishman,—Franklin and Hawkins, two squires of England, sir Robert Knolles his companions.'—Page 544.

selves from these captains, by paying them a certain number of florins weekly: on any other conditions they would have been burnt and destroyed, for these ruffians were very cruel to their enemies.

From such causes as these, the lands were uncultivated; for no one dared to till them; so that very great scarcity soon added to the disasters under which the kingdom already laboured.

CHAP. CLXXXVII

THE NAVARROIS ARE BESIEGED IN THE CASTLE OF MAUCONSEIL, BY THE MEN OF PICARDY.

WHEN the duke of Normandy, who resided at Paris, heard that these men at arms were destroying the country, under the name of the king of Navarre, and that their numbers were daily increasing, he sent to all the principal towns in Picardy and Vermandois, to require that each should, according to his proportion, send a certain number of men at arms, on foot and on horseback, to oppose the Navarrois, who were ruining the kingdom of which he had the government. The cities and chief towns willingly complied with his request: they taxed themselves, according to their fortunes, with men at arms, both horse and foot, archers and cross-bowmen.

These advanced first toward the good city of Noyon, making straight for the garrison of Mauconsel, because they thought this the weakest of
the

the fortresses of the Navarrois, and that which had most harassed the inhabitants of Noyon and the country of Vermandois.

The bishop of Noyon, the lord Raoul de Coucy, the lord de Ravenal, the lord de Chauny, the lord de Roye, and sir Matthew de Roye his brother, were the captains and leaders of these men at arms and the other troops. These lords had with them many other knights and squires from Picardy and Vermandois, who, laying siege to Mauconseil, made many assaults on it, and hardly pressed the garrison; who, when they could not hold out much longer, sent to inform sir John de Piquigny of their distressed situation. He then resided in the castle of la Herielle. All these garrisons and places were under his command. He made haste therefore to succour his good friends in Mauconseil, and sent orders privately to the garrison of Creil, to arm themselves directly, and to march to a certain spot which he pointed out to them; for he meant to make an excursion through the country with all the men at arms under his command. When they were all assembled, they amounted to one thousand lances at least. They rode on, under the direction of guides, all that night, without halting, and came before the castle of Mauconseil at day-break. There was so thick a fog that morning, that they could not see the length of an acre of ground. Immediately on their arrival, they fell suddenly on the French army, who, not expecting them, nor having a sufficient guard, were sleeping as if in perfect safety. The Navarrois set up their cry, and began
to

to kill and cut down both men, tents and pavillions. The skirmish was very sharp, in so much that the French had not time to arm themselves or collect together; but ran off, as fast as they could, to Noyon, which was hard by, and the Navarrais after them.

Many were slain and unhorsed between Noyon and Orcamp*, and between Noyon and Pont l'Évêque†, and in that neighbourhood. The dead and wounded lay in heaps on the ground, on the highways and between the hedges.

The pursuit lasted as far as the gates of Noyon, which put that town in great danger of being ruined; for some of both parties who were there, have declared, that if the Navarrais had chosen, they might for a certainty have entered the town, as those who belonged to it were so much frightened, when they returned, that they forgot, or had not time to shut the gate leading to Compeigne.

The bishop of Noyon was taken prisoner, near the barriers, and gave his word to surrender himself, or he would have been killed. On the morrow, the lord Raoul de Coucy was taken, as were the lord Raoul de Ravenal, the lord de Chauny and his two sons, le borgne‡ de Rouvroy, the lord de Turte, the lord de Vendueil, the lord Anthony de Coudun, and full one hundred knights and squires.

* † Villages near Noyon.

‡ Q. Borgne,—whether one-eyed, or some title, as capital or ouldich?

There were upwards of fifteen hundred men slain: the greatest loss fell upon those who came from the city of Tournay: they suffered much, as many had come from that part. Some said, that of the seven hundred which they at first were, scarcely any returned back, but all were either killed or taken prisoners. The garrison of Maucoufeil made a sally, to complete this defeat, which happened in the year 1358, on the Tuesday following the feast of our Lady, the middle of August.

The Navarrais conducted the greater part of their prisoners to Creil, because it was a good and strong town. They acquired by this expedition much wealth, as well in jewels as by the ransoms of their prisoners.

From this time they became rich, and ransomed the citizens of Tournay and those of the other towns whom they had captured cheerfully, for such sort of ware as swords, axes, spear heads, jackets, doublets, housings, and for all the different sorts of tools they were in want of.

The knights and squires took their payments in ready money, in courfers or other horses; and one poor gentleman, that had not wherewithal to pay, they made serve for a quarter of a year: two or three were treated in this manner. With regard to wines and provision, they had plenty: for all the flat countries supplied them handsomely by way of ransom. The towns got nothing, but in an underhand manner, or by means of their passports, which they sold at a high price. By this method they could obtain all they wanted, except hats of beaver,

beaver, ostrich feathers, and spear heads; which things they never would insert in their passports.

The garrison of Mauconseil destroyed the greater part of the fine abbey of Orchamps, at which the governor was much enraged when informed of it.

These Navarrais spread themselves over many places, along the banks of the Somme and the Oise; and two of their men at arms, called Rabigeois de Dury and Robin l'Escot* took by escalade, the good town of Berly†, in which they placed a garrison, and strongly fortified it. These two companions had in pay, under their command, about four hundred men, to whom they gave fixed wages, and paid them every month.

The garrisons of Beaulieu, Creil, Mauconseil, and la Herielle, scoured all parts of the country, as no one opposed them; the knights having sufficient employment in guarding their houses and castles. These English and Navarrais went armed or unarmed, and rode over the country at their pleasure, to amuse themselves, from one garrison to another, as if all had been at peace.

The young lord de Coucy had his towns and castles extremely well guarded: he was also lord paramount of that part of the country.

The canon de Robesart watched the Navarrais better than any other, and harassed them much; for frequently he had overthrown many of them.

* Q. The first, see note p. 412;—the second, Robin Scott.

† Q. If not Beaulieu, which is a town in Picardy, in the diocese and election of Noyon.

CHAP. CLXXXVIII.

SEVERAL OF THE CITIZENS OF AMIENS ATTEMPT
TO GIVE UP THAT CITY TO THE NAVARROIS.—
A FAMINE IN FRANCE.

THE lord John de Piquigny, who was much attached to the king of Navarre, was the chief of his council, and through whose assistance he had escaped from prison, resided at la Herielle, three leagues from Amiens. He had tampered so successfully, by fine speeches and otherwise, with several of the principal citizens of Amiens, that they had consented to admit the Navarrois into the city. These treacherous citizens had even hid in their chambers and garrets some of the Navarrois that were to assist in destroying their town.

Lord John de Piquigny, lord William de Gravelle, lord Fricquet de Friquant, lord Lin de Belaisy, and the lord Fondrigay, came one night, with upwards of seven hundred men, to the gates of the city, which lead to la Herielle, on assurance of their friends within the town, that they should be open; and they kept their promise. Upon this, those who had been hid in cellars and garrets sallied forth, shouting, 'Navarre!' whilst the inhabitants, being awakened, cried out, 'Treason, treason!' and, collecting themselves together, hastened towards the gate where the greatest tumult was, between the suburbs and the city.

The first comers defended the gate well, and with good courage: numbers were slain on both
2 sides.

sides. If the Navarrais had hastened to enter the city instantly on their arrival, they would have won it; but they loitered in the suburbs, and performed the enterprize in a cowardly manner enough.

This same night, God inspired the lord Morel de Fiennes, constable of France, and the earl de St. Pol, who were at Corbie in great force, with the design to go to Amiens. They rode there so fast, and came so opportunely, that the Navarrais had but just gained the suburbs: they were exerting all their efforts to win the city, and must have succeeded, if these gentlemen had not arrived. As soon as they had entered the city of Amiens by another gate, they advanced to the place where the battle raged, and having displayed their banners, drew up their men in the street, without passing through the gate to the suburbs; for they gave them up as lost, which in truth they were. They, by this timely succour, inspired fresh courage into the men of Amiens, who lighted the streets with a number of torches, and with pitched ropes in iron lanterns.

The lord John de Piquigny and the Navarrais, on hearing that these lords and their squadrons were arrived, and drawn up in the city, thought that, if they remained, they ran a risk of losing more than they could gain: lord John, therefore, collected his people together, and founded a retreat, which he made as handsomely as he could, but not before he had destroyed and burnt the suburbs. There were at least three hundred houses, and a

number of handsome hôtels, with parish-churches, burnt; for nothing was spared.

Thus did the Navarrois carry off with them great wealth, which they had found in the large suburbs of Amiens, and returned with many prisoners to their different garrisons.

The constable and the earl of St. Pol, upon the retreat of the Navarrois, separated their troops, and sent them to all the different gates of the city, with orders, under pain of death, to suffer no one to quit the town.

On the morrow morning, these two lords and some of the citizens of Amiens, who were acquainted with the manner in which the town had of late been governed, and who suspected some of the citizens of both sexes of this treason, went to the houses of those they were in search of, and arrested seventeen, who were soon after beheaded in the public market-place.

The abbé de Gars was among the number, who had been an accomplice in this treason, and had even lodged some of the Navarrois in his house.

Shortly after, six of the principal inhabitants of Laon were arrested and executed, for a similar crime; and it would have gone hard with the bishop of that place if he had been caught, for he was accused of being concerned, which afterwards he could not deny; but he quitted the town secretly, as he had good friends, who gave him notice of what was likely to happen, and went immediately to the king of Navarre, at Melun sur Seine, who
most

most courteously received him. Such adventures as these happened often in France: on which account, the barons and knights, as well as the cities and principal towns, were always upon their guard. To speak truly, the king of Navarre had many friends intermixed in every part of France; and, if they had not been discovered, much worse things would have been done, though in truth they did enough.

During this time, the duke of Normandy and his brothers resided at Paris. No merchants nor others dared to venture out of the town, to look after their concerns, or to take any journey; for they were attacked and killed, whatever roads they took. The kingdom was so full of the Navarrais, they were masters of all the flat countries, the rivers, and the principal towns and cities. This caused such a scarcity of provisions in France, that a small cask of herrings was sold for thirty golden crowns, and every thing else in proportion. Many of the poor died with hunger. This famine lasted more than four years. The great towns, in particular, were much distressed for salt, which could only be had through the ministers of the duke of Normandy, who sold it at a very dear rate, in order to collect more money to pay the soldiers.

CHAP. CLXXXIX.

THE MEN OF PICARDY BESIEGE THE NAVARROIS IN ST. VALÉRY.—THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE IS FILLED WITH NAVARROIS.

THE constable of France and the young earl of St. Pol acquired great popularity in Picardy, for the succours which they had brought to Amiens. The knights and squires of that province united themselves to them; and they thought they were now in sufficient force to lay siege to St. Valéry.

The constable sent to all the principal towns, to inform them of it: upon which, those of Tournay, Lille, Douay, Arras, Bethune, St. Omer, St. Quentin, Peronne, Amiens, Corbie, and Abbeville, met together: they engaged to find a certain number of men, whom they sent to the constable and the earl of St. Pol.

Even the knights and squires of Hainault put themselves in motion, and came thither, on account of the estates they had in France.

The lord d'Andregheux sent thither the young seneschal of Hainault, the lord John de Verthin, magnificently equipped, the lord Hugh d'Antoing his cousin, with many others; when they marched to lay siege to St. Valéry.

There were full two thousand knights and squires; and the chief towns had sent twelve thousand common soldiers at their expence: Abbeville, in particular, was too heavily taxed, for thence they took all their purveyances.

The

The siege of St. Valery lasted some time. There were many sharp assaults and skirmishes. Almost every day there was something of this sort going forward; for the young knights and squires were eager to make trial of their arms, and they readily found those who would gratify them. The lord William de Bonnemare, sir John Segar, and several other knights, who were in the garrison, advanced from the barriers of the castle, to tilt and skirmish with those of the army; so that there were generally some killed or wounded on both sides daily.

There might have been in St. Valery three hundred companions, without counting those of the town, whom they forced to fight and assist them, otherwise it would have ended badly.

The chiefs of the besiegers ordered engines of war to be brought from Amiens and Abbeville, and to be pointed against St. Valery, which cast large stones, and much harassed the inhabitants, who had cannon and springals*, with which they annoyed the army.

Whilst this siege was carrying on, and the king of Navarre making war in all parts of France, the capital of Buch, cousin to the king of Navarre, arrived at Cherbourg, according to his intreaties,

* Espringalles, or espringolds, or springolds, were machines whence came shot, stones, or bolts.

SKINNER'S Dictionary.

• And eke within the castil were

• Springoldis, gones, bowes, and archers.

CHAUCER'S *Roman de la Rose*, verses 490, 491.

being retained by him, with two hundred lances in his pay.

The captal, on his arrival in Normandy, took the field, and, passing through the lands of the king of Navarre, came to Mantes, where he found the lord Philip de Navarre, with whom he tarried some days. He then set out secretly with all his companions, and made such expedition in one night, through the good country of Vexin and Beauvoisis*, that he arrived at Clermont† in Beauvoisis, which is a large town, though not inclosed, with a handsome castle, having one large tower walled all round.

Immediately after having summoned it, he took it by escalado, though the tower had hitherto been deemed impregnable. Nevertheless he succeeded by means of rope-ladders, and by using arrow-heads to attach them to the walls. The first person who entered was sir Bernard de la Salle, climbing like a cat. He, in his time, had taken many other places by similar means. The captal de Buch exerted himself so much that he conquered Clermont, which he and his companions kept possession of for a long time. He from that post harassed the countries of Vexin and Beauvoisis, with the assistance of the Navarrois, who were in garrison in the neighbouring fortresses, such as Creil, la Herielle, and Maucoufeil. All the flat countries were at their disposal, as there were none to oppose them.

* A small province in the isle of France. Beauvois is the capital.

† Fifteen leagues from Paris.

In such manner was the whole kingdom of France kept in a state of warfare, under the name of the king of Navarre. Many strong castles were taken in Brie, Champagne and Valois, in the bishopricks of Noyon, Soissons, Senlis and Laon, of which divers knights and squires from foreign parts were made governors.

In that part of the country, near Pont sur Seine*, towards Provins†, Troyes‡, Auxerre§, and Tonnerre||, they were so overrun with soldiers that no one dared to venture out of the strong cities and well-fortified towns. Sir Peter Audley resided in the castle of Beaufort, between Chalons and Troyes, which was part of the duke of Lancaster's inheritance.

Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, a Hainauter, resided sometimes on Pont sur Seine, sometimes at the castle of Nogent, with about five hundred combatants, who pillaged all the country round about.

In another part of Champagne, lived a squire from Germany called Albret. These three captains kept possession of all Champagne and the country on the Marne, with upwards of sixty

* A town in Champagne, diocese of Sens, twenty-eight leagues from Paris.

† An ancient city of Brie, diocese of Sens, twenty-two leagues from Paris.

‡ A large city of Champagne, thirty-eight leagues and a half from Paris.

§ An ancient city of Burgundy, capital of the Auxerrois, forty-one leagues and a half from Paris.

|| A town in Champagne, diocese of Langres, forty-eight leagues and a half from Paris.

castles and fortified houses. At any time they pleased, they could bring into the field more than two thousand combatants.

That whole district was under their subjection: they ransomed or robbed every one. They had pillaged and burnt the good towns of Ay, Epernay*, and Vertus†, and all the chief towns on the Marne, as far as Chateau Thierry‡, with those that were in the neighbourhood of Rheims§. They had also taken the good town and castle of Ronay||, and the strong castle of Hans¶ in Champagne, ascending the river as far as St. Antoine in Pertois**.

Further advanced on the borders of Burgundy and Pertois, Thibat de Chaufour and John de Chaufour had taken up their quarters in the name of the king of Navarre. They had got possession of a strong castle called Mont Sangon††, in the diocese of Langres; in which they had a garrison of four hundred men, who scoured the country as far as the bishoprick of Verdun and the country of Soissons.

* An ancient city of Champagne, diocese of Rheims, thirty-three leagues from Paris.

† A town in Champagne, near Epernay.

‡ A city in Brie, diocese of Soissons, twenty-one leagues and a half from Paris.

§ An ancient city and archbishoprick in Champagne, thirty-eight leagues from Paris.

|| A village in Champagne, diocese and election of Troyes.

¶ A village in Champagne, election of St. Mencheould.

** Pertois,—a fertile country of Champagne.

†† Q. if not Monfaujon? which is in the diocese of Langres.

Between Laon and Rheims were other pillagers, whose principal garrison was at Vely, in which there were six hundred men. Rabigeois de Dury, an Englishman, was the governor of it. He retained all sorts of persons, who wished to serve under him; and, as he paid well and punctually, he was duly obeyed.

He had with him Robert Scott, as companion in his gains and losses, who, during the Christmas holidays, won and plundered the strong castle and town of Roucy*, in which he established a garrison that was afterwards a great grievance to the neighbourhood. He ransomed the earl, his lady and daughter, for the sum of twelve thousand golden florins *au mouton*, and kept possession of the town and castle all that winter and ensuing summer of 1359.

As soon as the earl of Roucy had paid his ransom, he went to reside in Laon, and in divers other places. During this period, there was not any tilling of the ground, so that it caused a great scarcity in a short time.

* A town in Picardy, diocese and election of Laon.

CHAP. CXC.

THE CANON DE ROBESART DEFEATS THE NAVARROIS
IN THE LAONNOIS, NEAR TO CREIL,

ABOUT this time, as I have been informed, the canon de Robesart performed a very gallant action. It fell out, that as the lord of Pinon, a knight-banneret of Vermandois, was riding from one strong place to another, accompanied by about sixty men at arms, the garrisons of Vely* and Roucy, to the number of three hundred, but without their captains, were also abroad to see what they could capture.

As they advanced towards Creil, they perceived the lord of Pinon marching in good order, in the plain near that town, with his pennon displayed. They immediately saw they were French: the lord de Pinon also knew they were his enemies, and that he had no way to escape from them. However, he and his little troop turning to the right and skirting Creil, for the Navarrois had cut off his retreat the way he had come, stuck spurs into their horses to save themselves, if possible, by flight; but the Navarrois pursued them, crying out, 'St. George, Navarre!' and, being better mounted, would have come up with them in less than half a league.

It chanced that the lord de Pinon, in his flight, met with a large and deep ditch, inclosed on one side by strong hedges, and having only one entrance,

* Vely,—a chatellany in Picardy, diocese of Soissons.

which

which was so narrow horses could not pass through. As soon as he was come near, he noticed the advantage that might be made of it, and said, 'Dismount, dismount: it is much better to wait here the chance of war, and defend ourselves, than to be slain or made prisoners in our flight.'

Upon which, all his people dismounted; as did the Navarrois on their arrival. In the troop of the lord de Pinon, there was a knight, who, calling his page, said, 'Mount my courser, and spare him not, but gallop to the garrison of Pierrepont*, and intreat the canon de Robesart to come to our assistance.' The page answered, 'Suppose I should meet with him, how will it be possible for him to arrive in time, for it is five leagues distant from hence.'

The knight said, 'Do thy duty.' The page immediately set off, and left his master fiercely attacked by these plunderers of Vely and Roucy.

The lord de Pinon and his company defended themselves with great valour. He kept possession of the advantageous position in the ditch, without any loss, from ten o'clock in the morning until the afternoon.

I will now return to the page, who never broke gallop until he came to Pierrepont in the Laonnois. He delivered his message to the canon de Robesart, who replied that he would do his duty, and hasten to the place where the lord de Pinon was engaged, as he was perfectly acquainted with the spot.

* A village in Picardy, diocese of Laon.

He ordered his trumpet to found, and his companions, who might be about six score, to mount their horses. At the same time, he sent off one of his servants to Laon, which was not far distant, to inform a captain who was stationed there what was going forwards. He would not wait for the arrival of this reinforcement, but set off directly, full gallop, which he continued until he came to the lord de Pinon and his company, whom he found so hard pressed by the Navarrais, that they could not have held out much longer.

The canon immediately placed his lance in its rest, and rushed upon the Navarrais with such force, that he struck down three the first onset. His people, being fresh and in spirits, drove down the Navarrais, who were quite fatigued with having combated the whole day.

The canon de Robesart gave such deadly blows with his battle axe, that none could stand before him. These plunderers were totally routed: more than one hundred and fifty were left dead on the field of battle; and if any attempted to save themselves they were met by the detachment from Laon, who made such a slaughter, that, of the three hundred they amounted to at first, fifteen only escaped; the rest were either slain or made prisoners.

CHAP. CXCL

THE NAVARROIS SURRENDER ST. VALERY TO THE
FRENCH, WHO HAD BESIEGED IT A LONG TIME.

I HAVE before related, that the lords of Picardy, Artois, Ponthieu and the Boulonnois, were a considerable time before St. Valery; that they had made many grand attacks upon it by machines and other instruments.

Among other events, it chanced that the lord de Bacieu from Picardy, having got into a boat to reconnoitre more particularly the castle, was struck with a bolt from an espringal, of which he died. The garrison had such quantities of artillery, that every attack upon them was attended with great danger. This siege, therefore, lasted from the beginning of August until the following Lent. The lords then declared they would starve them to a surrender, since they could not take it by assault.

They therefore remained a long time inactive, but took great care to guard all the passes, so that nothing could enter the town by sea or land.

Their provisions soon began to lessen, for they could not venture abroad to forage: on the other hand, they saw no appearance of any succours coming to them. They therefore determined in council to treat with the constable of France, the earl of St. Pol and the other barons of the army, to surrender the fortress upon condition that their lives
and

and fortunes should be spared, and that they might be allowed to go wherever they pleased.

This was granted them ; but they were to leave the place unarmed. Some difficulties also attended the compliance with their proposals, for the earl of St. Pol insisted on their surrendering unconditionally.

At this time, the lord Philip de Navarre was advanced towards St. Valery, to raise the siege, which he would have done, if the garrison had not been in such haste to surrender. He and his army were very angry at the event ; but they could not now by any means prevent it.

CHAP. CXCH.

THE LORD PHILIP DE NAVARRE ASSEMBLES THREE THOUSAND MEN TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF ST. VALERY.

THE lords of France were still drawn up in the plain ; and, though no one had left the army, yet they were about departing ; their tents, pavilions and baggage were packing up ; when news was brought them that the Navarrais were upon their march, and not more than three leagues off.

It was the lord Philip of Navarre who governed all the territories of the king his brother ; that is to say, the county of Evreux ; and all the different parties that were making war on France obeyed his orders. He had been informed by sir John de Piquigny

quigny, that the garrison of St. Valery was on the point of surrendering. The lord Philip was encouraged to attempt raising the siege; and for this purpose he had assembled secretly at Mantes and Meulan, three thousand ~~men~~, one with the other. The young earl of Harcourt, the lord de Granville, sir Robert Knolles, sir John de Piquigny, were there, with many other knights and squires, who had followed him to within three leagues of St. Valery when it was surrendered. He was assured of the truth of it, by the arrival of the lord de Bonnetmare and sir John Segar, who met him on his march.

When the French, who had taken possession of St. Valery, heard of the approach of the Navarrais, the constable, the earl of St. Pol, the lord de Châtillon, the lord de Poix, the lord de Beaufault, the lord de Helly, the lord de Crestkes, lord Odoart de Renty, lord Baudoyne d'Ennekin, and some other barons and knights who were present, retired into the castle, to a council; when it was resolved they should advance to combat their enemies.

The constable issued his orders for every one to fall into his rank, and prepare for combat. Upon which they all marched forward in good order, as if they were immediately to fight with the lord Philip.

The Navarrais, learning that the French were marching towards them in battle-array, to the amount of thirty thousand men, did not think it advisable to wait for them, but crossed the river Somme as speedily as possible, and took post in the

castle of Long* in Ponthieu, with their horses, baggage, and whatever else they had, which straitened them much for room.

They had scarcely entered it, when the French, who were in pursuit of them, came before it, about the hour of vespers. Their numbers were continually increasing; for the common soldiers from the cities and chief towns could not march so fast as the men at arms.

The lords held a council, and determined to take up their quarters that night before the castle, to wait for more troops, which were dropping in one after another, and on the morrow to make a general assault upon it.

This was done. But the Navarrais within the castle, being short of provisions, as soon as it was midnight, sallied out at a back way, without any noise, and took the road for the Vermandois.

They were more than two leagues off before the French knew of their departure: they immediately armed themselves, and set out after them, following the tracks of their horses. Thus did both parties push forward, the Navarrais first, and the French behind them, until the Navarrais came to the little village of Thorigny, which is situated on an eminence whence there is a good view of all the country round about. It is in the Vermandois, between St. Quentin and Peronne. There the Navarrais halted, to refresh themselves and horses, and to

* Long et le Castlelet,—a village of Picardy, near Abbeville.

fight their enemies, if they were forced to it. They had formed themselves in a circle on the summit of the eminence, so that they might profit from the situation of the place.

They had not remained long before they saw the whole country below them covered over, and full of Frenchmen, who seemed to amount to upwards of thirty thousand.

When the Navarrais perceived they had the appearance of coming to attack them, they issued out of the town, and drew up their army in three battalions: the first of them was given to sir Robert Knolles; the second to sir Lewis de Navarre, and the third to the earl of Harcourt. Neither of these battalions consisted of more than seven hundred fighting men. They cut their lances to five feet in length, and ordered their servants to carry their spurs to the slope of the hill, where they were to fix them with the rowels uppermost, so that their enemies might not ascend the hill at their ease.

The lord Philip de Navarre knighted the young earl of Harcourt, who displayed his banner, as did also the young lord de Granville.

The French halted in sight of the Navarrais, and dismounted, for many were desirous to give them immediate combat, whilst others were against it, saying, 'Our people are fatigued; besides, we have such numbers in the rear, that it is proper we wait for them, and take up our quarters where we are for the remainder of this day. It will be night soon, and we can fight them to-morrow in better order.'

In this situation, the French encamped themselves, placing all their baggage-waggons round them, of which they had great numbers.

When the Navarrais found that there was no intention of attacking them, they retired towards evening into their village of Thorigny, making great fires and smoke, to let them understand they meant to remain there that night: but as soon as it was dark, they got their horses ready, having previously made every other preparation, and set off in silence.

The night was dark and foggy; and they marched down to the river Somme, which they crossed at a ford, near a small village not far distant from Bethencourt*; thence they took the road to the wood of Bohain†, which they skirted: they marched that night upwards of seven leagues, which caused many of the worse mounted to remain behind, who were made prisoners by the inhabitants of Bohain. The peasants also of the country slew many who were unable to keep up with their masters, and all who had lost their road.

The French were informed of the departure of the Navarrais a little before day-break; when they resolved to cross the Somme by the bridge at St. Quentin‡, and to push forward towards Liannes§,

* A village in Picardy, election of Peronne.

† Bohain,—a small town in Picardy, election of Guise, near St. Quentin.

‡ A strong city in Picardy, diocese of Noyon, generality of Amiens.

§ Liannes, a village in Picardy, in the generality of Amiens.

and

and by this means to come up with them. Every one, therefore, mounted his horse as quickly as possible, and galloped on for the fastest, taking the road for St. Quentin, where they arrived as day appeared, for it was but two short leagues distant. The constable and the earl of St. Pol were among the first. When the guards of the town who were stationed over the first gate heard the bustle of their arrival, they began to be alarmed, as they knew the enemy was in the neighbourhood; but recollecting that the draw-bridge was up, they were somewhat re-assured, as that would prevent them from doing any mischief. They asked, who they were that were come there at such an unusual hour: the constable answered, 'We are such and such persons, and wish to pass through this town in pursuit of the Navarrais, who have stolen away from Thorigny, and are flying from us: we command you therefore, in the king's name, instantly to open the gates.' The guard replied, that the keys were with the magistrates in the town.

Two of the guard went to those that had the keeping of the keys, who told them they would not consent to open the gates till they had consulted the inhabitants. By this means, so much time was lost that it was after sun-rise, before they had considered what answer to give; they then ascended over the gateway, and, putting their heads out of the windows, thus addressed the constable and the earl of St. Pol, who were waiting: 'Dear lords, have the goodness to take compassion and excuse us this time; but it is the determination of the commonalty of the

town, that only five or six of you may enter, out of the respect we bear you : the others must go any other way they choose.' The lords were so much enraged at this answer, that many high words and abusive language ensued ; nevertheless, those of St. Quentin would not open their gates.

These lords, therefore, gave up all thoughts of following further the Navarrois, as it would have been in vain. By the advice of the constable, the French separated themselves, and the earl of St. Pol went to his castle of Bohain, in such a rage that no one dared to speak to him.

CHAP. CXCIIL

**SIR PETER AUDLEY LEADS A PARTY OF NAVARROIS,
IN THE NIGHT, TO TAKE CHALONS.**

THUS did this grand expedition end : the French separating, went one way, and the Navarrois another : the last came that day to Vely, where they crossed the river Oise at a ford ; when, finding they were out of all danger, they halted and refreshed themselves. As soon as they thought proper, they returned into Normandy, and journeyed from fortrefs to fortrefs in perfect security, as they were masters of all the rivets and flat country. Having again entered the district of Coutantin, they carried on their excursions, as before, through Normandy.

During this time, the king of Navarre remained at Melun upon Seine, with a large body of men at arms.

It

It happened that while sir Peter Audley was governor of Beaufort, which is situated between Troyes and Châlons, he imagined, that if he could cross the Marne above the town of Châlons, and advance by the side of the monastery of St. Peter, he might easily take the town. To carry this scheme into effect, he waited until the river Marne was low, when he secretly assembled his companions from five or six strong castles he was master of in that neighbourhood. His army consisted of about four hundred combatants. They set out from Beaufort at midnight. He led them to a ford of the river Marne, which he intended to cross, for he had people of the country as guides. On coming thither, he made them all to dismount, and give their horses to their servants, when he marched them through the river, which was very low. All having crossed, he led them slowly towards the monastery of St. Peter.

There were many guards and watchmen scattered over the town of Châlons, and in the public squares: those who were nearest to the monastery of St. Peter, which is situated above the town, heard very distinctly the noise of the Navarrais: for as they were advancing, their arms, by touching each other, made a noise and sounded.

Many who heard this wondered what it could be; for all at once, sir Peter having halted, the noise ceased, and, when he continued his march, the same sounds were again heard by the centinels posted in St. Peter's street, as the wind came from the opposite quarter; and some among them said,

‘It must be those English and Navarrais thieves that are advancing, to take us by scalado: let us immediately sound the alarm, and awaken our fellow-citizens.’ Some of them went to the monastery, to see what it might be. They could not, however, make such speed but that sir Peter and his army were in the court-yard; for the walls in that part were not four feet high; and they immediately rushed through the gate of the monastery into the street, which was large and wide.

The citizens were exceedingly alarmed, because there were cries from all parts of, ‘Treason, treason! To arms, to arms!’ They armed themselves in haste, and, collecting in a body to be the stronger, advanced to meet their enemies, who overthrew and killed the foremost of them.

It happened very unfortunately for Châlons, that Peter de Châlons, who had been governor of the city upwards of a year, with a hundred lances under his command, had lately left it, on account of not being able to get paid according to his wishes.

The commonalty of the city were numerous, and set themselves in earnest to make a good defence. It was high time; but they suffered much, and the Navarrais conquered all the lower town, as far as the bridges over the Marne.

Beyond the bridges, the citizens collected themselves, and defended the first bridge, which was of great service to them. The skirmish was there very sharp: the Navarrais attacked and fought well. Some of the English archers advanced, and, passing
over

over the supports of the bridge, shot so well, and so continually, that none from Châlons dared to come within reach of their arrows.

This engagement lasted until mid-day. It was said by some, that Châlons must have been taken, if sir Odes de Grancy had not learnt, as it were by inspiration, this excursion of the Navarrois. In order to defeat it, he had intreated the assistance of many knights and squires; for he knew that there was not one gentleman in Châlons. He had come therefore, day and night, attended by sir Philip de Jancourt, the lord Anceau de Beaupré, the lord John de Guermillon, and many others, to the amount of sixty lances.

As soon as they were come to Châlons, they advanced towards the bridge, which the inhabitants were defending against the Navarrois, who were exerting themselves to the utmost to gain it. The lord de Grancy displayed his banner, and fell upon the Navarrois with a hearty good will.

The arrival of the lord de Grancy mightily rejoiced the people of Châlons; and well it might, for without him and his company they would have been hard driven.

When sir Peter Audley and his friends saw these Burgundians, they retreated in good order the way they had come, and found their servants with their horses on the banks of the Marne. They mounted them, and, crossing the river without molestation, returned towards Beaufort, having by a trifle missed their aim.

The

The inhabitants of Châlons were much pleased at their departure, and gave thanks to God for it. After expressing their obligations to the lord de Grancy for the kindness he had done them, they presented him with five hundred livres for himself and his people.

They intreated the lord John de Besars, who was present and a near neighbour, to remain, to advise and assist them. He consented to their request, for the handsome salary they allowed him, and set about fortifying the city in those places which were the weakest.

CHAP. CXCIV.

THE EARL DE ROUCY TAKEN A SECOND TIME.

ABOUT this period, the two garrisons of Vely and Roucy* united together, and took by assault the town of Sissonne†, which they garrisoned with all sorts of people: the captain of it was Hannequin François, a lad from Cologne on the Rhine. He was so cruel in all his excursions, that he shewed neither pity nor mercy to any one who fell in his way. He burnt all the country, slaying men, women and children, whom he could not ransom according to his will.

The earl of Roucy, who had still at heart the loss of his town and castle, which these robbers

* † Towns in Picardy, diocese of Laon.

had wrested from him, intreated the assistance of those knights and squires who were his neighbours. He collected upwards of a hundred lances and forty horsemen, whom he conducted from the city of Laon. Among them were the earl de Porcien, lord Robert de Cauency, the lord de Montegny in Ostrevant, and others. They advanced towards Sissonne, and meeting with that garrison, who were burning a village, fell upon them merrily. This Hanequin and his followers immediately dismounted, and placed their archers in the front. The engagement was very sharp; but those from Laon retreated towards their city without having done much. The other Frenchmen remained, and fought manfully for a long time. However, the fortune of the day was against them: the earl de Roucy was severely wounded, and made prisoner: the lord Gerald de Canency, the lord de Montegny and many other men at arms, were likewise captured. Thus was the earl of Roucy made prisoner twice in the space of one year.

The lord Eustace d'Ambreticourt resided at this time in Champagne, with seven hundred fighting men under his command; by whose means he acquired great wealth, from the ransoms of towns, castles, vineyards and private houses, as well as by granting passports. He was master of at least twelve fortresses, and much in love with the lady Isabella de Juliers*, daughter of the earl of Juliers, whom

* Niece to the queen of England, and widow of the earl of Kent.—*Marginal note, D. SAUVAGE.*

he afterwards married. This lady was greatly attached to sir Eustace, for his gallant deeds of arms, which had been related to her ; and she sent him couriers, hackneys, and letters full of love, which so much emboldened sir Eustace, and spurred him to perform such feats of chivalry and of arms, that all those under him made fortunes.

CHAP. CXCV.

THREE QUEENS, WITH THE NAVARROIS, ARE BE-
SIEGED IN MELUN.

AFTER the surrender of St. Valery, as you have heard related, the duke of Normandy collected upwards of three thousand lances, set out from Paris, and laid siege to Melun on the Seine, of which the Navarrois kept possession.

At that time, three queens resided therein : Jane, aunt to the king of Navarre and widow of Charles king of France ; Blanche, widow of king Philip of France and sister to the king of Navarre ; the third was the queen of Navarre, sister to the duke of Normandy.

The duke of Normandy sent his forces thither, but did not accompany them in person : they were under the command of the lord Morel de Fiennes, constable of France, the earl de St. Pol, the lord Arnold d'Andreghen, marshal of France, the lord Arnold de Coucy, the bishop of Troyes, the lord Broquart de Fenestragues, Peter du Bar and Philip
des

des Armoyes, with others, amounting in the whole to three hundred lances.

They besieged Melun all round, and had brought from Paris a number of springals and other engines, which, day and night, kept continually throwing stones into the fortrefs, against which also many assaults were made.

The Navarrais within the town began to be alarmed, more particularly those queens, who would cheerfully have seen this siege raised at any rate; but the governors of the town, lord John Pippes and lord John Carbinaux*, desired the ladies not to be so much frightened, for in a few days this siege would be raised, as they had learnt from the king of Navarre, who was at that time at Vernon†. The lord Philip de Navarre also was assembling a body of men at Mantes and Meulan, to come to their assistance; and at those places all the various garrisons in the Navarre interest were collecting together.

On the other hand, the duke of Normandy, who knew the Navarrais intended to attempt raising the siege, retained soldiers wherever he could get them, and sent them to Melun. But good people interposed between the duke and the king; for at that time the cardinals de Perigord and de St. Vitalis were in France, who exerted themselves so effica-

* Lord James Pipe,—sir Hugh Calverley,—English natives,—BARNES.

† Vernon sur Seine,—a town in Normandy, diocese of Evreux.

cioufly,

ciously, that a day was appointed for treating of a peace between them at Vernon.

The duke of Normandy and his council came thither; as did the king of Navarre, accompanied by the lord Philip his brother; when a peace was made. The king of Navarre swore, that from henceforward he would be a loyal Frenchman. There were included in this peace as many as three hundred knights and squires, who were pardoned by the duke: some others, however, were excepted, whose evil deeds he refused to forgive.

The lord Philip of Navarre would not accept of the peace. He told the king his brother, he was bewitched for so doing, and was acting very ill towards the king of England, who was his ally, and who had always faithfully assisted him.

In despite of his brother the king of Navarre, the lord Philip, with three others, set off, and rode as fast as they could to St. Sauveur le Vicomte, where was an English garrison. The lord Thomas Dagworth commanded there, in the name of the king of England, who received the lord Philip, and told him he had acquitted himself loyally towards the king his lord.

CHAP. CXCVI.

SIR BROQUART DE WENESTRAGES, WITH MANY FRENCH, DRAW UP IN BATTLE-ARRAY, AGAINST SIR EUSTACE D'AMBRETICOURT AND THE ENGLISH IN CHAMPAGNE.

BY the articles of this peace, many towns and castles in Normandy, which had been in dispute, were given up to king Charles of Navarre, particularly Mantes and Meulan.

Peace was also made between the young earl of Harcourt and the duke of Normandy. The lord Lewis de Harcourt, uncle to the earl, who was of the council and household of the duke, interested himself much in its success; and the duke gave to the earl in marriage the daughter of the duke of Bourbon, sister to the duchess of Normandy.

The siege of Melun sur Seine was raised: the town remained to the French. But, in spite of this peace, the kingdom of France was torn in pieces by war as before; for the truce between the two kingdoms of France and England had lately expired; so that those captains who had carried on the war for the king of Navarre, in the provinces of Burgundy, Normandy, Champagne, Picardy, Brie, and Beauce, still continued it in a powerful and shameful manner, in the name of the king of England. They never passed any fortrefs without attacking it, notwithstanding the peace; for these soldiers had learnt to pillage or ransom the inhabitants

bitants of the country, and to make excursions sometimes in bodies of two thousand, many of whom had from ten to twelve horses, who, if they had not kept up this war, would perhaps have gone on foot.

After the siege of Melun had been raised, the duke of Normandy besought the lord Broquart de Fenestragues, who was from Lorraine, and who had in his pay five hundred men, to assist him in driving the English out of the province of Champagne, where they had established themselves, and were harassing the country day and night.

Sir Broquart consented, on condition of receiving a large sum of florins for himself and for his people.

Upon this, the bishop of Troyes, the count de Vaudemont, the count de Jouy, the lord John de Châlon, and the lord Broquart de Fenestragues, assembled men at arms in the provinces of Champagne and Burgundy: they amounted to full two hundred lances, and fifteen hundred footmen, who advanced and posted themselves before the strong castle of Hans* in Champagne, which the English had taken and kept possession of a year and a half.

They carried it by assault at the third attack; and there were upwards of fourscore English slain, for none were spared.

The French then retreated to the city of Troyes; and, when they had refreshed themselves, they sal-

* Hans,—a village in Champagne, in the election of St. Menchould.

lied forth with twelve hundred lances*, and nine hundred footmen, taking the road to Nogent sur Seine†.

Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, who was informed of this expedition, collected those garrisons under his command to the amount of four hundred lances and two hundred archers, with whom he set out from Pont sur Seine‡. He was completely armed, except his helmet, and was mounted on a hackney which had been given to him, but he had a very fine war horse led by one of his people. He had not rode far before he heard of the French from his scouts, who brought intelligence that they had seen his enemies. Had sir Eustace known that they were in such numbers, he would have asked assistance from the lord Peter Audley and lord d'Albret, who could easily have sent to his aid four hundred combatants.

Sir Eustace having drawn up his men beyond Nogent, placed himself on a small hillock, in the midst of a vineyard, his archers in front.

As soon as the French arrived, they formed themselves into three battalions: the first under the command of the bishop of Troyes and sir Broquart;

* Denys Sauvage has on this passage the following note, in the margin:

‘ La deduction suivante me semble montrer, que chacune lance n'étoit qu'un homme tant d'un côté que d'autre.’

† Nogent sur Seine,—a town in Champagne, between Paris and Troyes, diocese of Sens.

‡ Pont sur Seine,—a town in Champagne, diocese of Sens, election of Nogent.

the second under the lord John de Châlons and the count de Jouy; the third under the count de Janville*.

Sir Eustace, who was in the midst of his people, said to them; 'Gentlemen, let us fight courageously, and the day will be ours: we then shall be masters of all Champagne, which was formerly an earldom. Perhaps I may in time do such essential services to the king of England, whom I hold as the rightful king of France, that he may confer this earldom on me.' He then called to him some young squires, such as the courageous Manny, his cousin John of Paris, Martin of Spain and others, whom he knighted. Having dismounted his men, he caused their lances to be shortened to the length of five feet, and placed his pennon before him, which had his arms, ermine, three humets in pale gules.

CHAP. CXCVII.

THE BATTLE OF NOGENT SUR SEINE, BETWEEN SIR BROQUART DE FENESTRAGES AND THE FRENCH, AND SIR EUSTACE D'AMBRETICOURT AND THE ENGLISH.

WHEN sir Broquart de Fenestragés, who was a bold and courageous knight, saw that sir Eustace-d'Ambreticourt and his battalion were not inclined to quit their position, he said, 'Let us

* Q. if not Joinville.

march to them, for we must fight whatever be the consequences.' Upon which, he advanced with his battalion.

Sir Eustace received the attack of this battalion in such a manner, that he broke it and threw it into confusion. At the first shock, he unhorsed upwards of forty, and would have completely routed them, if the second battalion of the French had not immediately moved forward to their assistance, who, having rallied them, collected all the stragglers together. Upon this, the English archers began to use their bows, and so well, that none dared to come within the reach of their arrows. The third battalion of the French now advanced on their flank, to support the other two; and the engagement was very sharp and bloody, but the French were three to one.

Sir Eustace struck to the ground four of the most vigorous of his enemies with the spear he had in his hand; which was no sooner perceived by sir Broquart de Fenestrages, than he flung his lance over the heads of all those that were between him and sir Eustace, and, hitting him on the visor of his helmet, it penetrated through, and broke three of his teeth: this, however, did not prevent sir Eustace from continuing the combat.

The English had the advantage of the hill, and they kept so closely together that they could not be broken: the French were on horseback, the English on foot.

The archers had retreated, in a battalion by themselves, to somewhat higher ground, and shot

briskly against the French ; and when the French attempted, by marching about, to surround them, they kept their front to face the enemy. At this time, however, the French infantry, who could not make such haste as the men at arms, arrived. This infantry were full nine hundred men, and, being armed with lances and large shields, broke through the line of the archers, and flung them in disorder; for their shields were so strong that the arrows made no impression on them. They kept up the fight as long as they could; but, being thrown into confusion, the second battalion of the French men at arms galloped after them, and slew them all. This second battalion then went to the boys who were guarding the English horses, and killed or made prisoners the greater part of them, for very few escaped.

During this time, the two other battalions of the French were engaged with the English; and in the end they broke them, that they never were able to rally: the pennon of sir Eustace, which was their standard, was taken and torn to pieces. When the English were thrown into confusion, many were beaten down, and the French made prisoners at their choice. Sir Eustace fell into the hands of a knight who served under the count de Vaudemont, whose name was sir Henry de Quenillart, to whom he surrendered himself, and who had great difficulty to save his life; for the common people of Troyes wanted to put him to death for the gallant deeds of arms he had performed in Champagne.

Lord

Lord John de Paris and lord Martin of Spain were also made prisoners, as well as many other knights and esquires. Those that were able to escape fled to the garrison of Nogent; but very few were so fortunate, as almost all were slain or taken.

Sir Courageous de Manny* was left for dead on the field of battle, and by this means forgotten: but after the defeat, and when all the French were retired, he who had been grievously wounded, and more than half killed, raised his head a little, and saw nothing but dead bodies around him. He then got up as well as he could, and, placing himself on his sitting, looked about to see if he were far from Nogent, which had an English garrison; and, by crawling on his hands and knees, in about an hour's time he came to the foot of the tower of Nogent. He made signs to the garrison, that he was of their party. Upon which, they carried him into the fortress; and, by dressing and sewing up his wounds with much care, he was completely cured.

This engagement took place in the year 1359, the vigil of the feast of St. John the Baptist.

* I cannot find any thing relative to this monseigneur Courageux de Manny in Dugdale's Baronage. Lord Walter Manny seems to have left at his death only one daughter, married to the earl of Pembroke.

Barnes says, he was cousin to sir Eustace and nephew to sir Walter Manny, and was honoured always with the epithet *courageous*,

CHAP. CXCVIII.

THE PILLAGERS WHO HAD KEPT POSSESSION OF DIFFERENT FORTRESSES IN FRANCE BEGIN WONDERFULLY TO FALL OFF.

AFTER the defeat of Nogent sur Seine, which I have just related, the country being cleared of the enemy, the French barons and men at arms returned to Troyes, carrying with them their booty; but the prisoners they sent by different roads to several of the French garrisons, because the common people at Troyes were desirous of putting them to death.

When those who had remained at Pont sur Seine heard that sir Eustace, their captain, was made prisoner; that all his army were slain or taken; they packed up their baggage and set out as quickly as possible, for they were but a very few in number.

Those also who were at Torcis*, Espoyet†, Aufy‡, Mery§, and Pleusy||, and in all the forts that had been under the command of sir Eustace, did the same, and left them void, for fear of the bishop of Troyes and sir Broquart de Fenestragues,

* A village in Champagne, diocese and election of Troyes.

† A village in Champagne, diocese of Rheims.

‡ Auffon is a town and village in Champagne,—Arcy le Poufard, election of Rheims.

§ Mery sur Seine,—a town in Champagne, diocese of Troyes.

|| A town in Champagne, diocese of Troyes.

who

who were great warriors: they united themselves with other garrisons at a distance.

Sir Peter Audley did not, for this check, quit Beaufort* ; nor sir John Segar, Nogent ; nor the lord Albret, Gié sur Aube†.

About this time, the lord John of Piquigny died in an extraordinary manner at his castle of la Heriellerie, within three leagues of Amiens: it was reported that he was strangled by his chamberlain, and that sir Luke de Bekusy, who was of his council, died much in the same manner.

Near this period, as some of the soldiers belonging to sir Peter Audley were riding through the country, they came to a good large village of the name of Ronay‡, which they plundered; infomuch that, as the curate of the place was celebrating high mass, an English squire entered the church, took the chalice from the altar, in which the curate was preparing to consecrate the precious body of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST, and cast the wine upon the floor. Upon the curate remonstrating with him for this conduct, he struck him so hard a blow with his gauntlet upon the hand, that the blood spirted upon the altar. These pillagers then marched out into the fields, and the squire carried with him the sacred vessels and the cloth.

* Beaufort les Regnicourt,—a village in Champagne, election of Rheims.

† Gié,—a village in Champagne, election of Bar sur Aube.

‡ Ronay,—a village in Champagne, diocese and election of Troyes.

He was, however, scarcely got into the fields, when his horse began to caper, and to play such violent tricks that no one dared to approach him: after many plunges, they both fell to the ground with their necks broken, and were immediately turned into cinders and dust. His companions, seeing this, made a vow, that from henceforward they would never violate the sanctity of any church.

The garrison of Mauconfeil, not having any provisions, sold the place to the inhabitants of Noyon*, and those in its neighbourhood, for about twelve thousand gold moutons†, with liberty to go away in safety, which they did carrying off all that belonged to them. They withdrew into the fortresses of Creil, Clermont, la Herielle, Vely, Pierrepont, Roucy, and Sissonne, which, for a length of time, had been held by the Navarre party; but, since the conclusion of the peace with the king of Navarre, they had remained with the English.

As soon as those of Noyon were in possession of Mauconfeil, they razed it to the ground.

Sir John Segar sold also Nogent to the bishop of Troyes, and gave it up to him for a large sum of florins, which he was to receive, and had it ratified to him under the hand and seal of the bishop. Upon this, he went to the city of Troyes, and dismounted at the hôtel of the bishop, who said to him; ‘ John, you will stay with me two or three

* Noyon,—an ancient town in Picardy. Its bishop is suffragan to the bishop of Rheims.

† Moutons,—see note, p. 360.

days ; and, whilst you are courteously treated, I will prepare the money for your payment.' Sir John, who had come thither on the bishop's word, agreed to the proposal : but the populace began to murmur, and to say, ' How can our lord bishop make such a mock of us, as to entertain in his house the greatest pillager of all France, besides wanting to make us give him our money?' They then collected together, sent strong guards to each of the gates, to prevent his escape, and marched in a body of six thousand, with arms, to slay sir John Segar in the court of the bishop's hôtel.

When the bishop saw this, he spoke to them, and said ; ' My good friends, he is come here under the security of my passport ; and you know that a treaty has been made between us, with your consent : it would therefore be highly disloyal to do any thing, under this assurance, that may be hurtful to him.'

However, notwithstanding the endeavours of the bishop, they forced into the hall and the apartments, in which they made so exact a search that they found sir John Segar, flew him, and cut him into pieces.

CHAP. CXCIX.

THE FRENCH REFUSE TO RATIFY THE TREATY WHICH KING JOHN HAD ENTERED INTO WITH ENGLAND.

I HAVE been a long time silent with regard to the king of England; but until this moment there has not been any cause for speaking of him; for as long as the truce lasted, his people did not carry on the war in his name. The truce having expired the first day of May 1359, from that period the English and Navarre garrisons made war for him as king of France, and continued so to do daily.

It happened that soon after the peace between the duke of Normandy and the king of Navarre had been concluded, as has been related, the lord Arnold d'Andreghen, marshal of France, returned to England; for he was not yet ransomed since he was made a prisoner at Poitiers.

At that time also, the king of England and the prince of Wales came to Westminster, to meet the king of France and lord James de Bourbon; when these four assembled together in council, and agreed on a peace, without any arbitrator between them, upon certain conditions which were written down, and also a letter was indicted to be sent to France to the duke of Normandy.

The earl of Tancarville and sir Arnold crossed the sea with these dispatches, landed at Boulogne, and

and hastened on to Paris; where they found the duke of Normandy and the king of Navarre, to whom they delivered their letters.

The duke of Normandy consulted the king of Navarre on the subject of them, who advised that the prelates, nobles, and the councils of the principal towns should be assembled, which was accordingly ordered.

It appeared to the king of Navarre, the duke of Normandy and his brothers, as well as to the council of state, that the conditions of peace were too hard: and they gave an unanimous answer to the two lords who had brought them, that ‘they would much rather endure the great distress they were in at present, than suffer the kingdom of France to be diminished, and that king John must remain longer in England.’

When the king of France was informed they had not succeeded in their mission, he said, ‘Ha, ha, my good son Charles, you consult with the king of Navarre, who deceives you, and would deceive forty such as you.’

The king of England, on receiving their answer, said, that since it was so, before the winter was over, he would enter France with a most powerful army, and remain there until there was an end of the war by an honourable and satisfactory peace.

He began making more splendid preparations than he had ever done before.

About this season, which was the middle of August 1359, the lord John de Craon, archbishop of Rheims, the inhabitants of that town and its neighbourhood,

bourhood, with other knights and squires of the counties of Rethel and Laon, marched and laid siege to the castle of Roucy: they pressed it so hard for five weeks, that the garrison surrendered, on condition of saving their lives and fortunes. For this effect, they had letters, with permission to go wherever they pleased in surety, under the hands of the archbishop, the count de Porcien and the count de Braine, who were there: but when they were setting out, the common people came forth to meet them, and slew the greater part, in spite of the lords, who with much difficulty saved the life of their leader, Hannequin François. Thus had the count de Roucy once more possession of his town and castle.

CHAP. CC.

SIR EUSTACE D'AMBRETICOURT OBTAINS HIS LIBERTY BY A GREAT RANSOM.

SOON after the re-capture of the castle of Roucy, sir Peter Audley fell sick, and died in his bed, at the castle of Beaufort in Champagne, which caused great grief among all the followers of his fortunes. Upon this, the English and Germans, who were united in carrying on the war in the name of the king of England, consulted together, and determined that they could not fix on a more proper leader than sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, who was then recovered from his wounds.

They

They sent Faucon the herald into the county of Vaudemont, to confer with the earl of that name, and with the lord Henry de Quenillart*, who had made him prisoner, touching his redemption. His liberty was granted, on condition of his paying down twenty-two thousand French liyres for his ransom. Sir Eustace thus recovered his freedom; the different garrisons in Champagne and Brie having made a subscription for that purpose, when each man cheerfully paid his part. He obtained his hackney and war horse that he had lost at the battle of Nogent, which had been sent to him by the lady Isabella de Juliers, countess of Kent, from England, out of her affection to him. The English also surrendered at that time the castle of Conflans† in Champagne, of which they were in possession.

When these troops, who were carrying on the war against France, had thus ransomed sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, they elected him their chief, and all sorts of persons enlisted under his banner.

He made an excursion into the Rhetclois‡, where no one had been before, and took by storm the good town of Attigny§ upon the Aisne, where they found upwards of a hundred tons of wine. They fixed upon this as the principal garrison, and overran from it the whole country in the environs

* Barnes calls him sir Henry de Quingey, but why, I know not.

† Diocese and election of Châlons, near Châlons.

‡ A country of Champagne, near Rhetel.

§ A market-town in Champagne, diocese of Rheims, and near Rhetel.

of Rheims : they pillaged Epernay*, Damery†, Touraine‡, and the town of Vertus§, where they met with very great booty ; they placed there another garrison, which scoured the country from the river Marne to la Ferte-Milon|| ; whilst those of Attigny overran it as far as Mesieres¶ upon the Meuse, Donchery**, and even to le Chêne Pouilleux††.

CHAP. CCI.

SIR BROQUART DE FENESTRAGES FORCES PAYMENT
FROM THE DUKE OF NORMANDY, REGENT OF
FRANCE.

ABOUT this time it happened, that sir Broquart de Fenestrages, who had been to the aid of the duke of Normandy and the French, against the English and men of Navarre, and had much assisted them in their conquests, and in driving them out of their fortresses in Champagne, had been very badly

* Diocese of Rheims, eight leagues from Châlons.

† Damery,—a village near Epernay.

‡ I can find only Touraille, a village in Champagne, election of Chaumont, near Ligny.

§ A town in Champagne, six leagues from Châlons.

|| A town in Picardy, diocese of Senlis, election of Crespy.

¶ A strong city in Champagne, on the Meuse.

** A town in Champagne on the Meuse, bordering on Luxembourg.

†† Chêne Pouilleux,—a town in Champagne, in the election of Rhetel, near Sedan,—made famous by the retreat of the duke of Answick, before Dumouriez, in the year 1792.

paid for his assistance, infomuch that there was owing to him and his men, for their subsidy, thirty thousand livres. He sent therefore certain persons to the duke at Paris, who did not give them very pleasant answers, for they returned without having been able to do any thing.

Upon this, sir Broquart sent a defiance to the duke and to all France, and took possession of a handsome town called Bar sur Seine*, where at that time there were nine hundred hôtels, and plundered the inhabitants; but the castle was so well guarded, he could not gain it. Having packed up his booty, he carried away upwards of five hundred prisoners, and burnt the town so completely that nothing remained but the walls. His men retreated to Conflans, which they had made their garrison, and committed afterward more atrocious acts in Champagne than ever the English or men of Navarre had done.

When sir Broquart and his troop had thus overrun and pillaged the country, there was an agreement made with them; and each man was paid even more than he demanded; so that sir Broquart retreated into Lorraine, whence he had come, carrying with him all his foldiers: he left peaceably the kingdom of France and country of Champagne, after having done a sufficiency of evil to each of them.

* A town of Burgundy, on the Seine, diocese of Langres.

CHAP. CCII.

SIR ROBERT KNOLLES MAKES AN EXCURSION INTO BERRY AND AUVERGNE. HE IS PURSUED BY THE GENTLEMEN OF THOSE COUNTRIES.

AT this same period, in the year 1359, sir Robert Knolles prepared an expedition, consisting of three thousand persons including every one. With this army, he quitted the marches of Brittany ; and having followed the course of the Loire upwards, entered the province of Berry, overrunning and destroying all that part of the country. It was reported that his intentions were to pass through Auvergne, to pay a visit to the pope and cardinals at Avignon, and get some of their florins, as the archpriest had done before.

The gentlemen of Auvergne, and Limousin, assembled in large bodies, to oppose this invasion ; in particular, the count de Forests, who brought with him four hundred lances ; and they were very numerous when all were assembled.

Sir Robert Knolles and his troops, who were all called Englishmen, continued their march from Brittany unmolested, until they came to the borders of Auvergne. The lords of Auvergne, with their array, advanced to within a short day's journey of sir Robert. They observed, from a mountain where they had posted themselves, all that the English were doing. On the morrow, they marched to that part ; there were only two short country leagues between them ; when they halted, and took post on
a moun-

a mountain, and the English did the same on another: each army saw the fires the other was making. The next morning, the French decamped, and advanced still nearer to meet them, for they were well acquainted with the country, and, about noon, took up their quarters on an eminence right before the English: the two armies were only separated by a meadow of about twelve acres.

The English immediately drew up in order of battle, and placed their archers on the declivity of the hill, in the front.

The French lords then drew up their army in two battalions, each of which consisted of upwards of five thousand men.

The count de Clermont, dauphin of Auvergne, commanded the first battalion: his name was Berault. He was knighted on the spot, and displayed his banner, which was quartered with the arms of Auvergne and Clermont*. There were near to

* In all my manuscripts and printed editions, it is Auvergne and *Merquel*. Denys Sauvage says, that there must be some mistake, and proposes *Clermont* in lieu of *Merquel*, which, as he was count de Clermont as well as dauphin of Auvergne, seems to me proper. Barnes changes the word *Merquel* into *Marteques*; but he gives no reason or authority for so doing.

The counts of Auvergne added the title of dauphin, in rivalry to the dauphin of Viennois, 1167. How long they continued it I know not. The last dauphin of Viennois was Humbert, who ceded the title and his estates to the crown of France 1345, on condition of the heir apparent to that crown bearing it. Dauphin was formerly a title of honor, as duke, marquis, &c. is now.

his person, his uncle the lord Robert Dauphin, the lord of Montagu, the lord of Talençon, the lord of Rochefort, the lord of Serignac, the lord Godfrey of Boulogne, and many young squires from Limousin, Quercy, Auvergne, and Rouergue.

In the second battalion, were the count de Forests, the lord John of Boulogne, the count d'Auvergne, the lord d'Archer and his sons, the lord d'Achon, the lord d'Uzes, the lord Reginald de Forests, brother to the count, and great numbers of knights and squires, with a thorough good will for the combat, as was apparent.

On the other hand, sir Robert Knolles and his troops shewed an equally good countenance to engage.

Thus then they remained until the evening, each in their entrenchments, without moving, except some young knights and squires, who, in hopes of gaining glory by feats of arms, descended into the meadow, with the leave of their marshals, in order to tilt with their opponents. He who conquered his adversary carried him off prisoner. Towards night, each party retired to his quarters, and kept a good and great guard.

The lords of France held a council, and resolved at the hour of midnight to descend the mountain, not on the side next the English, but by that which they had ascended; when, by making a circuit of only two leagues, they would come to the opposite side of the hill where the English were posted, which part was not high nor difficult of ascent: they had hopes to arrive there so early, that the English would

not be all armed. Each lord was to give these orders to his own people: this, however, was not done so secretly but that the English were informed of it by one of their countrymen, a prisoner in the French army, who made his escape, and told sir Robert Knolles of their intentions.

Sir Robert summoned a council of those in whose opinion he most confided, who, considering the superiority of the French forces, thought it not advisable to wait for them. Upon this, their baggage was immediately loaded: they decamped, and were conducted by those of the country whom they had made prisoners.

At midnight, the French were drawn up in battle-array, and marched according as it had been ordered. They arrived by day-break on the mountain, where they thought to have found the English: but, when they saw they had decamped, they sent off some of their most expert and best mounted, over the hills to see if they could get any tidings of them.

They returned about nine o'clock, and reported that they had seen them on their march, named the roads they had taken, and added they were advancing towards Limoges.

When the lords of Auvergne heard this, they broke up their expedition, and each returned to his own home.

Very soon after, a treaty of marriage was entered into, and completed, between the gallant knight the lord Berault, dauphin of Auvergne, with the daughter of the count de Forests, whom he had by a sister of the lord James de Bourbon.

CHAP. CCIII.

SOME GERMANS WAIT FOR THE KING OF ENGLAND AT CALAIS, TO ATTEND HIM IN HIS EXPEDITION INTO FRANCE, DURING THE TIME KING JOHN WAS IN ENGLAND.

DURING all this time, the king of England was making such great preparations, for his expedition into France, that the like was never seen before: on which account, many barons and knights of the German empire, who had formerly served him, exerted themselves much this year, and provided themselves handsomely in horses and equipage in the best manner they could, each according to his rank, and hastened as fast as possible, by the frontiers of Flanders, to Calais, where they remained, to wait for the king of England.

It happened that the king could not come thither with his army by the time appointed, which caused such numbers to remain at Calais, that there were no lodgings for them, nor stables for their horses. In addition to this, bread, wine, hay, oats, and all sorts of provisions, were so scarce, that none could be had for money.

Thus did these mercenary Germans, Bohemians, Brabanters, Flemings, Hainaulters, both poor and rich, wait from the beginning of August until St. Luke's day; so that many were forced to sell the greater part of their jewels. If the king had arrived then, they would not have known where to have lodged him and his people, except in the castle,

castle, for the whole town was occupied. There was also some doubt if these lords, who had spent their all, would have quitted Calais, for the king or any one else, if their expenses had not been allowed them.

The king had not sent for a fourth part of them. Some came out of good-will to him, in hopes of grace and favor ; others, with the expectation of gaining from the plunder of France.

The king of England at last ordered the duke of Lancaster to Calais, with four hundred men in armour and two thousand archers and Welchmen. When the duke came to Calais, he was much rejoiced to see so many foreign lords, who made earnest inquiries after the king. He excused the king for not coming, on the impossibility of getting all preparations ready for so large an army by the time he had fixed. He then told these lords, that a longer residence there would be of no service ; that as he intended making an excursion into France, to see what he could find, he entreated of them to accompany him, offering to lend to each a sum of money, to pay their landlords and other expenses, as well as to supply them with as much provision as their horses could carry.

They accepted the duke's proposal, for they were ashamed to refuse it ; and having had their horses new shodden, and packed up their baggage, they set out from Calais in a magnificent train, accompanying the duke towards St. Omer. They might be about two thousand men with armour, without counting the archers or footmen.

They passed by St. Omer, riding on towards Bethune*, which they also left unmolested, and came to Mont St. Eloy†, where there was a large and rich monastery, situated two leagues distant from Arras. Here they halted four days, to refresh themselves and their horses, as they found a sufficiency for both in the monastery.

When they had robbed and plundered the country round about, they advanced until they came to the town of Braye‡, which they attacked a whole day. A knight-banneret§ of England was slain there, with many others; for the townsmen defended themselves valiantly, owing to a reinforcement which the count de St. Pol and the lord de Lameval, with others, to the amount of two hundred lances, had thrown into the back part of the town. When the English perceived they could make no impression, they marched off, following the course of the river Somme, being in great distress for bread and wine, until they came to a town called Cherify||, where they found enough of both. They crossed the river at this last place by the bridge, which was not destroyed, and remained there that night and the feast of All-Saints.

That day, a messenger brought the news to the duke, that the king was arrived at Calais, with

* A strong town in Artois.

† A village of Artois, diocese of Arras.

‡ Braye sur Somme,—a village in Picardy.

§ Barnes says it was sir Thomas Murrers, but gives no authority.

^ village in Picardy, diocese of Noyon.

orders for him and his troops to join him immediately. Upon which, they all returned to Calais. In this expedition was sir Henry of Flanders, with two hundred lances. From Brabant, there were sir Henry de Beaufresen, lord of Bergues, the lord Girard de la Harde and lord Franque de Halle*. From Hainault, the lord Walter de Manny and the lord John de Gommegnies. From Bohemia, sir Walter de la Hautepomme, sir Reginald de Boulant, the lord Godfrey de Harduement and the lord John his son, the lord Duras, Thierry de Ferram, the lord Russe de Jumeppes, the lord Giles Sorles, the lord John de Bermont, the lord Reginald de Bergehes and many other noblemen. The Germans and mercenaries from strange countries, I am unable to name; therefore, for the present, I shall be silent on that head.

* Sir Francis van Halle was afterwards captain of Calais, and a commissioner for treating of peace with France. He was installed knight of the garter in the 23d stall, in the room of sir Otho Holland. *Buswell's Account of the Garter*, No. 50.

CHAP. CCIV.

THE KING OF ENGLAND LEADS A GREAT ARMY INTO FRANCE, DURING THE TIME THE KING OF FRANCE WAS A PRISONER IN ENGLAND.—THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE ARMY OF ENGLAND.

AS the duke of Lancafter, with his barons and knights, were returning to Calais, to salute the king of England, who was impatient to see them, they met, within four leagues of Calais, such a multitude of people, the whole country was filled with them; and they were so richly armed and dressed out, that it was a pleasure to view their arms glittering in the sun, their banners waving in the wind, and the whole army marching slowly in battle-array.

When the duke and the above-mentioned lords were come to the king, he received them very graciously, and thanked them much for their services.

Shortly afterward, these mercenary Germans, Brabanters and Bohemians, having assembled together, informed the king, that, having spent their money, and sold their horses and armour, very little remained with them for his service, according to the design of their coming, and that, if there should be occasion, they had not wherewithal to return to their own country: they intreated him, out of his generosity, to pay some regard to their situation.

The king thus replied : ‘ I am but ill prepared at this place to give you a complete answer ; and, as I imagine, you must all be much fatigued : if you will go and refresh yourselves in Calais for two or three days, I will consider your requests this night, and to-morrow will send you such an answer as ought to be satisfactory to you in reason, and according to my means.’ These lords then left the king and the duke, and advanced towards Calais. When they had marched about half a league, they met a great number of handsome waggons, and soon after the prince of Wales, who, as well as all his attendants, were most brilliantly armed, and in such numbers that the whole country seemed covered with them : they marched slowly in close order, as if they were about to engage in battle, and always a league or two in the rear of the king’s division, with their baggage and provisions between them ; which arrangement the foreign lords viewed with delight.

These lords attentively considered this army, and respectfully saluted the prince, the barons, and the other lords that were with him. After the prince had courteously and handsomely received them, like one who knew well how to do so, on their taking leave, they informed him also of their poverty and situation, beseeching him that he would have the goodness to attend to their necessities. The prince listened to them, and cheerfully complied with their request. They then rode on, and came to Calais, where they took up their lodgings. The second
day

day after they had been there, the king of England sent them his answer by three worthy knights, who told them plainly, that the king had not with him adequate sums of money to pay all their expenses, nor what they might perhaps demand: that he had brought with him only sufficient for the enterprize he had undertaken: that, however, if they thought proper to accompany him, and partake of his good and bad fortune, should any success ensue, they should partake of it, and largely; but that he would not be understood as obliged to pay them any wages, nor any thing for horses destroyed, or other expenses which they might be put to; for he had brought an army from his own country equal to the business that he had undertaken.

This answer was not very agreeable to these lords, nor to their companions, who had laboured hard, and expended their all: they had also pawned their horses and armour, having sold every thing superfluous through necessity. Nevertheless, they could obtain nothing except some small sums lent them to carry them home again. However, some of these noblemen chose to remain with the king and share his adventures; for they would have been blamed, if they had gone back to their own country without having done any thing.

I shall now point out the manner of the arrangement of the king of England's forces, which he brought with him for this expedition. It ought not to be passed over in silence, for so large an army had never left England before.

Previous

Previous to the king's embarking for France, he sent all the French earls and barons, his prisoners, into different parts and strong castles in his kingdom, in order to be more under command. He placed the king of France in the tower of London, which is very large and strong, and situated on the river Thames: his young son Philip was sent thither with him: but they were deprived of many of their attendants, curtailed in several comforts, and more closely confined than before.

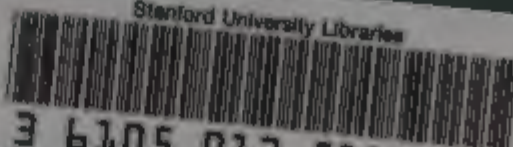
When he was ready to set out, he summoned all those who had provided themselves with every thing necessary to attend him to France, to advance towards Dover, where they would find vessels to cross the sea. Each man got himself ready as fast as he could: there was not in England a knight, squire or man of honour, from the age of twenty to sixty years, that did not go; so that almost all the earls, barons, knights and squires of the realm went to Dover; except those whom the king and his council had ordered to remain, to guard his castles, bailiwicks, mayoralties, sea-ports, havens and marches.

When all were collected together at Dover, and the vessels ready, the king ordered both small and great to assemble at a particular place out of the town, where he distinctly told them, that his intentions were to pass into France, and never to return until he should have put an end to the war, and obtained an honorable and efficient peace; that he would die sooner than not accomplish this object; and

and that if there were any among them who disapproved of what he had said, he desired they would return home. They all approving, embarked on board the ships, to the cries of ' God and St. George !' and arrived at Calais two days before the feast of All-saints 1359.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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